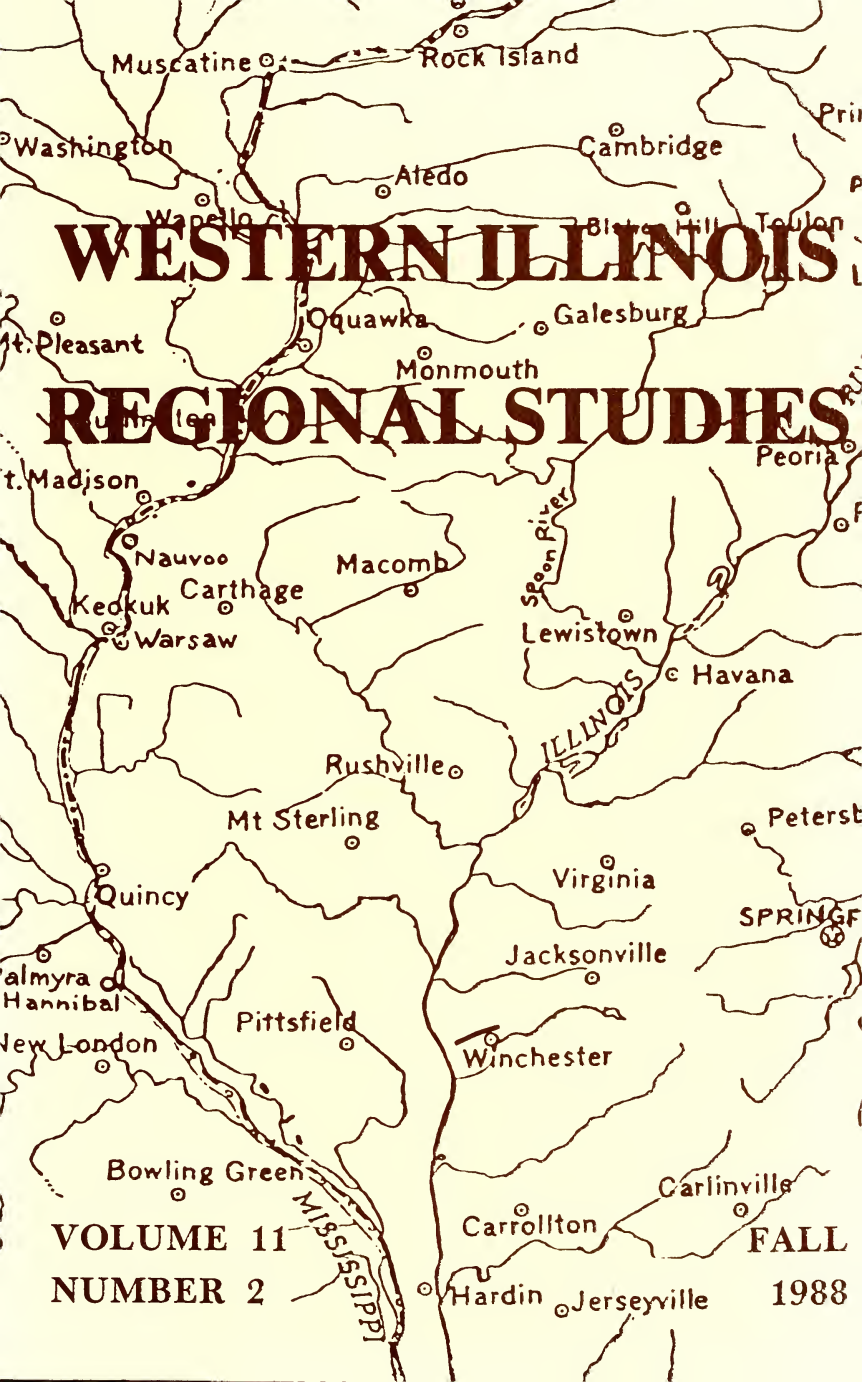

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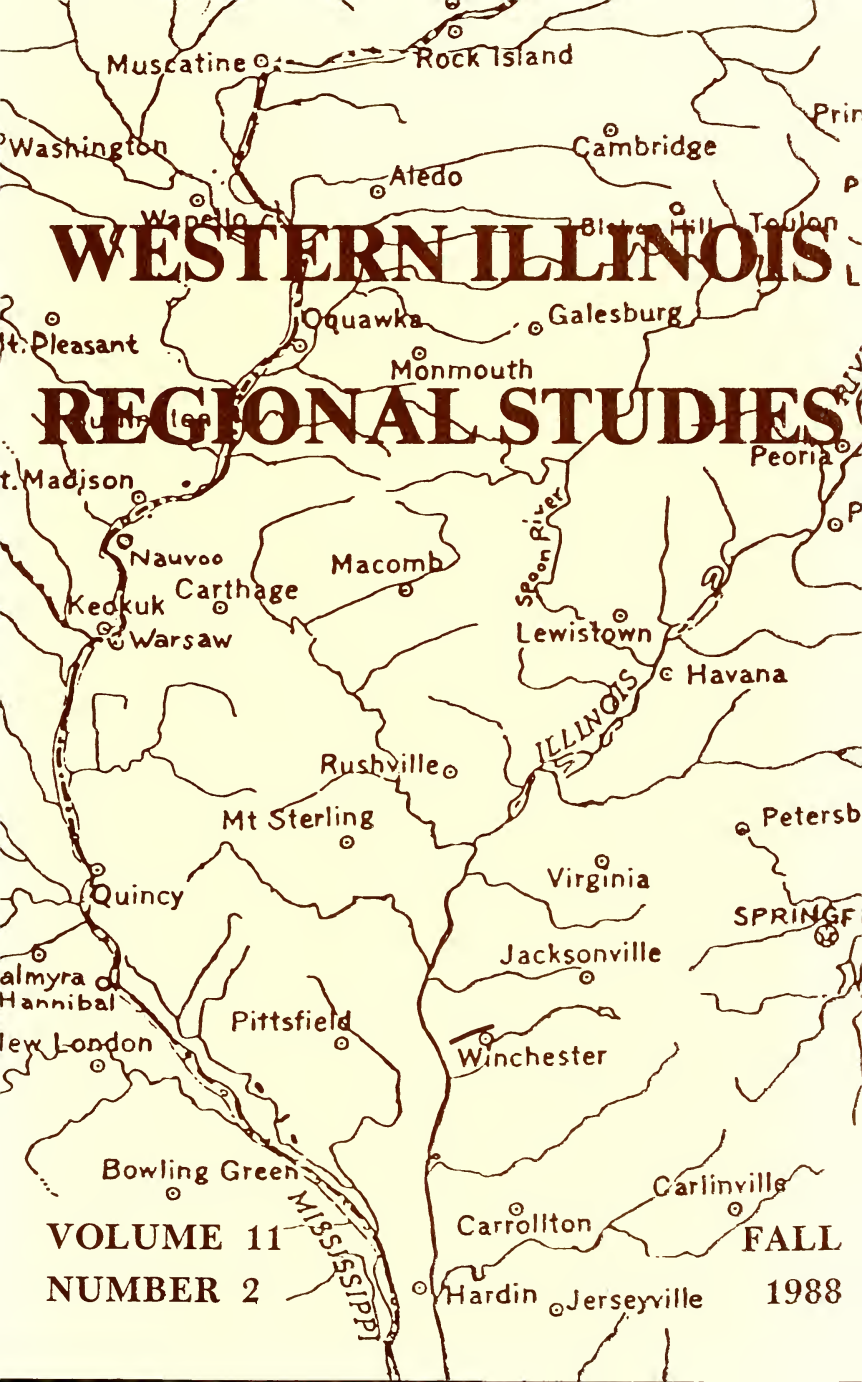

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WESTERN ILLINOIS REGIONAL STUDIES

VOLUME XI FALL 1988 NUMBER 2

CONTENTS

Special Issue: Mormon Nauvoo

The Mormon Press in Nauvoo, 1839-1846
Terence A. Tanner 5

Sex Roles, Marriage, and Childrearing at Mormon Nauvoo
M. Guy Bishop 30

The Nauvoo Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1846-1848
Stanley B. Kimball 46

The Awesome Responsibility: Joseph Smith III and the Nauvoo Experience
Roger D. Launius 55

Recent Writing on Mormon Nauvoo
Glen M. Leonard 69

Notes and Documents 94

Reviews of Books 96

Contributors 102

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Launius, JOSEPH SMITH III: PRAGMATIC PROPHET
By Paul M. Edwards 96

Kammerer, HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS IN
THE CIVIL WAR: "REFLECTIONS"
By John E. Hallwas 98

Lee, PRAIRIES, PRAYERS, AND PROMISES:
AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF GALESBURG
By Frank A. Ward II 99

Hallwas and Pichaske, TALES FROM TWO RIVERS IV
By John Lee Allaman 100

THE MORMON PRESS IN NAUVOO, 1839-1846

Terence A. Tanner

Officially organized a short time after the publication of the first edition of The Book of Mormon in 1830, the Mormon Church was to rely heavily upon the printers' art in its formative years. Surprisingly, considering the importance of the Nauvoo experience in the history of the Mormons, the Mormon printing office in Nauvoo has received but little scholarly attention.[1] Although a complete history of the Nauvoo printing office and its numerous publications is beyond the scope of this article, I have tried to provide a broad outline of its history and to suggest its significance in the development of the peculiar sense of identity so important to the growth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

The first church sponsored printing office was established in 1831 in Independence, Missouri. The office was destroyed in 1833, and a new printing office was established in Kirtland, Ohio. This office too was destroyed. The church procured yet another press and re-established its printing office in Far West, Missouri.[2] When the Mormons at Far West were surrounded by Missouri militia on October 30, 1838, William Miller took the precaution of burying the press and types in the front yard of Brother Dawson's farm to protect them from destruction.[3] After the Mormons had fled Missouri, Mormon leaders returned to Far West in April, 1839, in fulfillment of one of Joseph Smith's prophecies, and uncovered the press and brought it to Illinois.

Shortly after Joseph Smith purchased the site of Commerce, Illinois, the church leaders decided that a new periodical, to be called the *Times and Seasons* should begin publication. It was decided that the printing equipment should be turned over to two young printers in the church, Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith. Due to the financial condition of the church, Robinson and Smith were informed that they would have to operate the press without assistance from the church, but that they could keep the profits arising out of the operations.[4]

Only 22 at the time, Ebenezer Robinson had already labored for a number of years as a printer for the church. Born in 1816, in Oneida County, New York, Robinson spent his early apprenticeship working for newspapers both in New York State and Ohio. In May, 1835, he moved to

Kirtland, Ohio, and obtained employment in the Mormon printing office of F. G. Williams & Co. Although not himself a Mormon, he wrote to his sister that "Mormon money [was] as good as anybody's money," and he was engaged by the month and received room and board from his employers.[5]

Although skeptical at first, Robinson became impressed by his Mormon employers and friends, and was eventually baptized by Joseph Smith in October, 1835. In his autobiography, Robinson relates how almost immediately after being received into the church, he was called into the office of his employers and informed that his services were no longer required, but that if he were willing to work for $11.00 a month — presumably a significant reduction in his wages — he would be retained. Surprised by this turn of events, Robinson seriously considered leaving Kirtland to seek employment in Columbus, where printers were in demand and commanded higher wages. He prayed to God for guidance and received the answer: "Stay and be happy."[6]

He stayed, and shortly thereafter married a young Mormon woman. His involvement with the church grew and he was ordained an elder in April, 1836. Except for two short missionary trips in the spring and fall of 1836, he remained in Kirtland, working in the printing office, until April of 1837, when he and his wife removed to the Mormon settlement at Far West, Missouri. After taking up farming, he was eventually reemployed as a printer when the church re-established its printing office in Far West in 1838. Drawn into the difficulties in Missouri, he was imprisoned for a short time and finally fled the state in January of 1839.

Walking from Far West with three other Mormons, Robinson arrived in Quincy, Illinois, practically penniless. Although Quincy was overrun with laborers and offered little opportunity for employment, Robinson managed to secure work in the printing office of the *Quincy Whig*. He remained in Quincy until May, 1839, when he removed to the newly established Mormon settlement at Commerce, Illinois.[7]

His partner, Don Carlos Smith, the youngest brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, was also born in 1816.[8] One of the first to convert to his brother's newly founded church, Don Carlos was ordained into the priesthood at the age of 14. In the fall of 1833, he began his apprenticeship as a printer in the newly established church printing office in Kirtland, Ohio, and he became friends with Ebenezer Robinson when Robinson joined the establishment in 1835. When the printing office at Kirtland was destroyed in 1837, Don Carlos Smith removed his family to New Portage, Ohio, and spent most of 1838 on mission. He finally arrived in Far West in December, 1838, just before the exodus of the Mormons from Missouri.

When the printing equipment was turned over to these two friends in June of 1839, their first task was to clean from the press and types the Missouri dirt which covered them. Discovering that some of the type had been destroyed by dampness, they were forced to secure an additional $50.00 worth of type on credit from Dr. Isaac Galland, of Montrose, Iowa, the notorious land speculator who had sold Joseph Smith thousands of

acres in the "half-breed" tract to which he did not hold clear legal title. After procuring the type from Galland, Robinson and Smith borrowed $50.00 from a Mormon brother with which they purchased a supply of paper. At this time, the only room they could obtain for the printing office was a basement room in an old warehouse on the bank of the river. The room had no floor, and they were forced to work on ground kept constantly damp by the water trickling down from the bank side — Joseph Smith in his *History of the Church* describes the room as one "through which a spring was constantly flowing." Under these rather difficult circumstances the partners prepared a prospectus for the new paper in July, 1839.[9] Also in July, after printing the prospectus, they began to print copies of the first issue of the paper, but after only 200 copies had been struck both printers were taken ill with a swamp fever then sweeping through the town. At the time they became ill, they had already wet down enough paper to print an additional 2,000 copies, and this paper soon mildewed and was lost. A Mormon by the name of Francis Higbee tried to be of assistance and he wet down even more of the remaining paper stock, but he proved unequal to the task of printing, and that paper was also lost. Subscription money eventually began to come in response to the prospectus and the sale of the 200 copies printed before they took ill, and with these funds the printers were able to have built a "cheap frame building one and a half stories high" into which they moved the printing office. The printers themselves were moved into the upper portion of the building and were slowly able to recover from their crippling illness.[10]

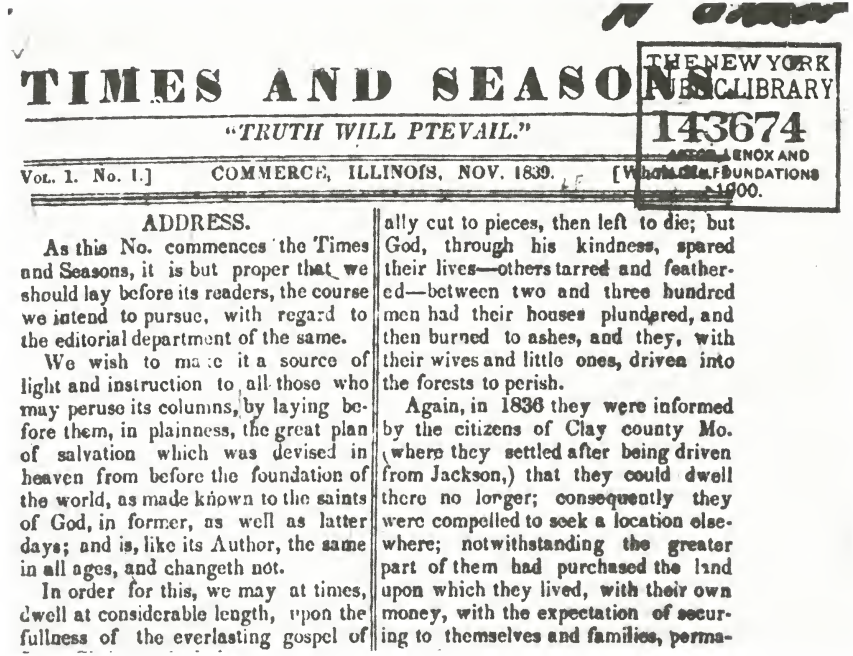
By November, 1839, the two young printers had recovered sufficiently to resume work, and they were fortunate to secure the services of a young apprentice printer by the name of Lyman Gaylord.[11] They reprinted the first number of the paper, substituting November as the publication date on the masthead, and the *Times and Seasons* officially began its life in the world.[12]

The start of the *Times and Seasons* marks an important transition in the history of Mormon journalism. Although the editors were experienced practical printers, neither seems to have been very much interested in theology, and neither held a very high position in the church. Don Carlos Smith, although a member of the Phophet's immediate family, does not seem to have been closely associated with the older leaders of the church. And Ebenezer Robinson, from what we know of his character, did not appear to have aspirations beyond becoming a successful printer. In contrast to these men, all of the earlier editors of the church newspapers had been men intimately involved in some way with the development of the church; one, Oliver Cowdery, was one of the earliest converts to the church and one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. All of the earlier editors of the newspapers had a personal stake in the theological development of the church. And all had fallen away from the church before the Saints settled in Nauvoo. So while it is probably true that Robinson and Smith were chosen to run the newspaper primarily because they were

the only experienced printers available at the time in Nauvoo, this turned out to be fortunate for the church. Because these men did not have the aspirations to power that earlier editors exhibited, they served the church more effectively by their natural inclination to avoid the turgid articles on religious questions found in the earlier papers.

While the *Evening and Morning Star,* the first Mormon periodical, is filled with a dark and brooding millennialism, and its successor, the *Messenger and Advocate,* is characterized by an incomprehensible religiosity, the *Times and Seasons* is filled with the color of history, even if it was the bloody color of the recent Mormon persecutions in Missouri. Furthermore, it was the most distinctly Mormon of all the church papers. Wayne Ham, in his anthology of selections from church newspapers entitled *Publish Glad Tidings,* remarked of the *Evening and Morning Star,* that it provided "very little context . . . in which to understand the development of the church."[13] This is not quite so true of the *Messenger and Advocate,* but what Mormon qualities there were to be found in the paper were buried beneath an avalanche of endless lectures on faith and articles on theology. The *Messenger and Advocate* had even neglected to inform the church members that Joseph Smith had formed a group called the Council of Twelve to serve as his principal advisors. But with its emphasis on the recent past history of the Mormons, the *Times and Seasons* is unmistakably a Mormon newspaper. There were still to be found in the paper, of course, a number of theologically oriented articles, but these play a relatively minor role in the publication.

Shortly after the editors began publication of the *Times and Seasons* they announced that they would start publication of a weekly paper of general interest, but they were unable to generate enough subscriptions and the plans were dropped.[14] This meant that the *Times and Seasons* had to serve not only the specific interests of the church but also the general interest of its readers. The marriage of these two elements within one paper served to create a sort of continuum of Mormon existence in which God and mammon, church and state, became one. This joining together of the two worlds was even more pronounced due to the fact that there was almost no real news of the outside world presented in the paper. Unlike the Oneida Colony's *Free Church Circular,* which John Humphrey Noyes founded not only to promulgate his own views within his community, but also to serve as a vehicle to educate the community and keep it in touch with the outside world,[15] the *Times and Seasons* was practically devoid of news of the world outside of Nauvoo.[16] The world as presented in the *Times and Seasons* is the Mormon world, and in many ways the newspaper is not unlike any institutional newsletter one might pick up today. Even in terms of its historical articles on the Missouri persecutions, the principle which became quickly established was that the Mormons were persecuted not for what they had done, but for what they were. The audience for the *Times and Seasons* was wholly and exclusively Mormon; its message wholly and exclusively Mormonism.



TIMES AND SEASONS

"TRUTH WILL PTEVAIL."

VOL. 1. No. 1.] COMMERCE, ILLINOIS, NOV. 1839. [W...

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143674
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
1900.

ADDRESS.

As this No. commences the Times and Seasons, it is but proper that we should lay before its readers, the course we intend to pursue, with regard to the editorial department of the same.

We wish to make it a source of light and instruction to all those who may peruse its columns, by laying before them, in plainness, the great plan of salvation which was devised in heaven from before the foundation of the world, as made known to the saints of God, in former, as well as latter days; and is, like its Author, the same in all ages, and changeth not.

In order for this, we may at times, dwell at considerable length, upon the fullness of the everlasting gospel of

ally cut to pieces, then left to die; but God, through his kindness, spared their lives—others tarred and feathered—between two and three hundred men had their houses plundered, and then burned to ashes, and they, with their wives and little ones, driven into the forests to perish.

Again, in 1836 they were informed by the citizens of Clay county Mo. (where they settled after being driven from Jackson,) that they could dwell there no longer; consequently they were compelled to seek a location elsewhere; notwithstanding the greater part of them had purchased the land upon which they lived, with their own money, with the expectation of securing to themselves and families, perma-

When the first issue of the *Times and Seasons* appeared, Nauvoo was still called Commerce. Courtesy of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Now that the periodical was finally begun, the editors turned their attention to the need in the church of a new edition of the Book of Mormon, as well as a new edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants,* and a Mormon hymn-book.[17] In April, 1840, Robinson and Smith ran an advertisement in the paper asking for a loan of $1,000 in order to print these books.[18] The response was such that the next month they lowered the request to $500.00.[19] Considering the unlikely prospect of raising this kind of money from Mormons who had only recently been driven from their homes in Missouri, the editors finally gave up the whole idea. However, Ebenezer Robinson received what he described as a "manifestation from the Lord," which told him the course to pursue. He approached Joseph Smith and told him that if he, Smith, could put up $200.00, he and Don Carlos Smith could get an additional $200.00, and that they would then print 2,000 copies of the Book of Mormon, and give Joseph Smith the plates. Joseph Smith agreed to this plan, but two weeks later informed the printers that he had been unable to raise the necessary funds. Robinson and Smith, meanwhile, had at least managed to borrow $145.00 — at 35% interest — and they told Joseph Smith that they would go ahead on their own if he would allow them to print 4,000 copies of the book, to which Joseph Smith agreed.[20]

In June, 1840, Ebenezer Robinson set off for Cincinnati with the $145.00. After losing $23.00 of this money in what he referred to as a "mock auction" in St. Louis, Robinson, considerably the wiser, arrived in Cincinnati. After purchasing $17.00 worth of paper to be shipped back to Nauvoo, Robinson contracted with the firm of Shepard & Sterns to stereotype the plates for the Book of Mormon. Although the total cost of stereotyping the plates, printing and binding the book far exceeded the money he carried in his pockets, Robinson negotiated for the completion of 2,000 copies of the book, instead of the planned 4,000 copies, partly through credit terms and partly by offering to work in the printer's office until the book was completed. Judiciously advertising the book for sale before printing was completed, Robinson was able to sell somewhere around 1,000 copies from Cincinnati, enough to meet his immediate obligations. With the money he cleared over and above his initial expenses, he secured a stereo-type foundry, binding equipment and other supplies sufficient to start a job printing office upon his return to Nauvoo.[21] He also seems to have purchased a stock of patent medicines, for after his return to Nauvoo in the fall of 1840, the paper ran a series of advertisements informing the readers that Gridley's Salt Rheumatic Ointment, Bliss' Purgative Bilious Pills, and Vancouver's Powders for the Cure of Fever and Ague could all be had at the office of the *Times and Seasons.*[22]

Flush with Robinson's success in Cincinnati and eager to put the new equipment to use, the printers announced in November, 1840, that plans were underway to print a new edition of the Latter-Day Saints Hymn-book, and appeals were made to all to send copies of their favorite hymns to

Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet, who was compiling the work.[23] Also, at this time, the proprietors were seeing through the press the first edition of the *Journal* of Heber C. Kimball, one of the first Mormon elders to travel on mission to England. This work, published over the imprint of Robinson & Smith in January, 1841, although carrying the date of 1840 on the title page, is the earliest extant book known to have been printed in Nauvoo.[24]

That Kimball's *Journal* was the first work to be produced at Nauvoo is not really surprising. Edited and prepared for the press by Robert B. Thompson, Joseph Smith's personal secretary, there can be little doubt that its publication was important to Joseph Smith. Not only did this book address itself to regular Mormons, encouraging them in their faith by offering them an account of one of the church's true successes, the missionary effort in Great Britain, but it also spoke to those men close to Joseph Smith in the Council of Twelve. Most of these men would be tested in their faith by overseas missions, just as had Kimball. In his introduction to the *Journal,* Thompson, undoubtedly acting for Joseph Smith, spoke directly to these men, when he wrote: "The Elders of Israel would do well to copy the example [of Kimball], and I hope they will be able to receive some instruction from a perusal of this work, particularly those, who may visit Great Britain, which may be of some value to them. One great cause of his usefulness was, that he attended closely to the commandments of heaven, and without intermeddling with many abstruse and dark passages, which are only a source of speculation, and tend to strife rather than salvation."[25]

Not long before this book was published, the newspaper had celebrated its first anniversary, and the proprietors decided that, beginning with the second volume, the paper would be published semi-monthly instead of monthly.[26] This fact, coupled with the start-up of the job printing office, led the partners to decide that it would be best to divide the labor and dissolve the partnership, Don Carlos Smith maintaining control of the newspaper and Ebenezer Robinson taking over the job printing office by himself.[27]

In the months following his breaking off from Don Carlos Smith, Robinson enjoyed continuing sales of his edition of the Book of Mormon, and published two volumes of poetry, one by James Mulholland,[28] a young Mormon who had died not long after arriving in Nauvoo, and another by the Mormon poetess Eliza Roxey Snow.[29] He also published Emma Smith's *Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.*[30] The *Times and Seasons* office also published a volume of poetry by one "Omer," the pseudonym of a young printer in the office by the name of Lyman Omer Littlefield.[31]

In order to help with the editorial burden at the *Times and Seasons,* Don Carlos Smith announced in May, 1841, that he was being joined as assistant editor by Robert B. Thompson, personal clerk to Joseph Smith.[32] Unfortunately, Don Carlos Smith died on August 7, 1841, and Ebenezer Robinson was forced to resume control of the paper in cooperation with Robert B. Thompson.[33] This new partnership had barely gotten underway,

however, when Robert Thompson himself died at the end of August, at the age of 30.[34] There is an interesting anecdote concerning Robert Thompson recorded in the diary of Oliver Huntington. Thompson had apparently been working as a clerk for Joseph Smith in so steadfast and serious a manner that Joseph Smith became concerned about him and took him aside and said: "Robert, I want you to go and get on a bust, go and get drunk and have a good spree. If you don't you will die." "Robert Thompson did not do it," Huntington reported soberly. "He was a very pious exemplary man and never guilty of such an impropriety as he thought that to be. In less than two weeks he was dead and buried."[35]

With Thompson's death, all of the editorial duties of the *Times and Seasons* fell solely upon Ebenezer Robinson's shoulders. He somehow managed to keep up with his job printing, and was even busy preparing to the print a new edition of *The Doctrine and Covenants*.[36] Much to his surprise, he began to hear some whispers of displeasure with the manner in which he conducted his business.[37] At a meeting of the Council of Twelve held on November 20, 1841, the leaders expressed unhappiness with the way in which Gustavus Hills was conducting the editorial department of the newspaper.[38] This is curious, though, because Gustavus Hills was not announced as having any connection with the paper until January of 1842, almost two months later.[39] It is possible, of course, that Hills had been unofficially acting as editor of the paper so as to allow Robinson time to attend to the job printing. Anyway, at a meeting ten days later, the Twelve voted that Robinson be solicited to give up the department of printing of the *Times and Seasons* to Willard Richards. The Twelve further voted that, if Robinson did not comply with this request, Willard Richards was to procure another press and establish a rival church paper.[40] When Joseph Smith reported all of this to Robinson, he was a little surprised, as you can imagine, and somewhat bewildered, for he couldn't imagine any reason for these feelings on the part of men with whom he had always been friendly.

In the midst of all of this uncertainty, Joseph Smith received a revelation which was to further complicate Ebenezer Robinson's life. Early in December of 1841, the Lord instructed Joseph Smith to move Nancy Marinda Hyde, wife of Orson Hyde, then on mission to Palestine, into the home of Ebenezer Robinson, located in the printing complex he had built for himself in the spring of 1841.[41] Needless to say, Robinson was none too happy about this, but complied and took Nancy Hyde into his home.

The storm building over the printing establishment finally broke on January 28, 1842, when Joseph Smith received another revelation, this one instructing the Twelve to take over the operation of the printing establishment.[42] God had spoken, and Robinson knew it was pointless to resist. Keeping his wits, though, he agreed to turn over the newspaper office to the Twelve only on the condition that they buy out his entire establishment, including stereotype foundry, bindery, stationery store and buildings. Although this was a bit more than they had originally wanted,

the Twelve finally agreed and instructed Robinson to make out an invoice for the sale.[43]

About a week later Robinson presented the Twelve with an invoice amounting to $6,000 for the operation and buildings. He received in return some cash, some credit against the Book of the Law of the Lord in the Temple, some livestock, and several shares in the Nauvoo House.[44] The transfer of all of this property took place in the winter, however, and Robinson was having some difficulty locating suitable quarters in which to move his family. He notified Willard Richards that he would require a little more time to find a new place to live, but, according to Robinson, Richards responded: "you must get out tonight or I will put you in the street." Brother Richards' anxious desire to have Robinson out of the house did not apply, however, to Nancy Marinda Hyde, who had been moved into the house in December by celestial fiat. According to the account in Robinson's autobiography, "that evening Willard Richards nailed down the windows, and fired off his revolver in the street after dark, and commenced living with Mrs. Nancy Marinda Hyde, in the rooms we had vacated in the printing office building where they lived through the winter. His family was residing at the time in Massachusetts, and Elder Orson Hyde was absent on mission to Palestine."[45]

In reflecting back on these events many years after the fact, Robinson concluded that the printing office was taken away from him due to the envy of the leaders of the church. By the standards of contemporary journalism, the *Times and Seasons* would have to have been counted a resounding success. While the precise size of the subscription list of the paper is not known, it must have been in excess of 2,000 and perhaps as large as 5,000.[46] It might well have seemed only natural to the church leaders that if anyone was to profit from operating the church newspaper it should be the church. And a number of members of the Council of Twelve had had experience running the church newspaper in Great Britain. Such a simple answer is complicated, however, by the fact that at this time it is very difficult to differentiate between church finances and the personal finances of Joseph Smith. In fact, Ebenezer Robinson recounts his surprise at discovering that the bill of sale he made out for the establishment listed Joseph Smith as the principal rather than the Council of Twelve.[47] Furthermore, Robinson was preparing another edition of the Book of Mormon, and it may well be that Joseph Smith was no longer satisfied to watch others profit from his own work, and wished the income from the sales of the new edition for himself.[48] When the new edition finally did appear in the summer of 1842, it carried as publisher the name of Joseph Smith.

If it is fairly certain that the ownership of the printing office passed to Joseph Smith at this time, one is still left with the question of why the Council of Twelve was anxious to have control of the newspaper wrested from Ebenezer Robinson. Discounting the possibility that they were acting only at the behest of Joseph Smith — which is probably unlikely — part of

the answer is to be found in the role of the Twelve themselves. Several factors are important to keep in mind about the Twelve at this time. First, Joseph began a careful program in the summer of 1841 to turn more and more of the responsibility for everyday affairs of the church over to the Twelve, including maintaining records of tithing, etc. All of the key members of the Council of Twelve had been tested in their faith by Joseph and had spent long and lonely years in mission in Europe. They had, so to speak, paid their dues and now wished to enjoy the fruits of their new found power.[49] Although Ebenezer Robinson was a good Mormon, he clearly was not a part of that group, and yet he held a position in the church which was potentially of great power. It is not unreasonable to assume that the Twelve wanted to have one of their own in control of the newspaper and printing office.

Second, it is worth noting that Joseph was in 1843 to formally announce his plans for the establishment of the political Kingdom of God on earth, and would shortly thereafter create a highly secret body in Nauvoo known as the Council of Fifty, which was to act as the main governing body for the Kingdom. Although we know very little about the history of the Council of Fifty, we do know that the Council of Twelve was the heart of the group.[50] It is not inconceivable that Joseph had discussed his ideas for the political kingdom in some detail with Brigham Young and others as early as the fall of 1841.[51] If he had, this could well have added to the Twelve's desire to secure the all-important printing office for themselves under their own control.

Third, it is almost certain that Joseph Smith had informed most of the members of the Twelve about the doctrine of plural marriage, and that most of them had already taken plural wives, or would soon do so. Because this was still a carefully guarded secret in Nauvoo, the Twelve might well have felt uncomfortable about having somebody other than themselves in the potentially powerful position of editor of the church paper. On this point, it should be noted that there is some evidence that both Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith had known something of the doctrine of plural marriage and were adamantly opposed to it.[52]

When Ebenezer Robinson gave up the newspaper establishment the editorial duties passed to Joseph Smith. Unfortunately for Smith, however, he announced his taking over control of the paper just a little bit too soon. In the issue of February 15, 1842, there appeared a valedictory article signed by Ebenezer Robinson announcing that he was giving up the paper, and an unsigned article by Joseph Smith regarding his having taken over the editorial duties.[53] In this same issue there appeared a short notice that Gilbert H. Rolfe had married Eliza Jane Bates. Rolfe was an apprentice printer in the newspaper office and the announcement of his nuptials was apparently used as the occasion for a practical joke. Filled with puns on various printer's terms, the announcement read in part:

". . . on receipt of the above notice, we were favored with a rich and delightful loaf of cake — by no means *below* the *medium size;* which makes us anxious that all their acts through life may be *justified;* and when life wanes and they find a peaceful abode in the 'narrow house,' may the *many outs and ins* they have made, leave to the world an abundant posterity to celebrate their glorious example."[54]

It may be somewhat difficult to understand how this notice could have offended anyone, but for Joseph Smith any reference to marriage which was even slightly off-color must have caused consternation. Joseph took every opportunity to deny that the church favored anything other than the purely monogamous life and the usual attitudes toward sex. When the Warsaw *Signal* picked up on the announcement,[55] Joseph inserted a notice in the next issue of the *Times and Seasons* to the effect that it was with this issue that he was taking full editorial control, and that he could not be held responsible for anything which appeared in earlier issues.[56] The next issue of the paper carried a letter from Ebenezer Robinson exonerating Joseph Smith from any responsibility in the publication of the marriage notice, and also carried a letter from Lyman O. Littlefield, another young typesetter in the office, stating that he had been the author of the notorious marriage notice and that Joseph Smith had not seen it in proof and was to be held blameless.[57]

Upon the assumption of the editorial chair of the *Times and Seasons* by Joseph Smith, the history of the press in Nauvoo can be said to have entered a new period. Smith began his editorship by publishing his translation of several papyri which had come into his possession in 1835. Purportedly written in the hand of the Prophet Abraham, the text of the *Book of Abraham,* as translated by Smith out of the Egyptian, appeared in the *Times and Seasons* accompanied by a series of remarkable engravings. This work, embodying Joseph Smith's concept of the plurality of God and the notion that the earth had been "organized" rather than "created," became one of the primary religious documents of Mormonism and was later published in the *Pearl of Great Price.*[58]

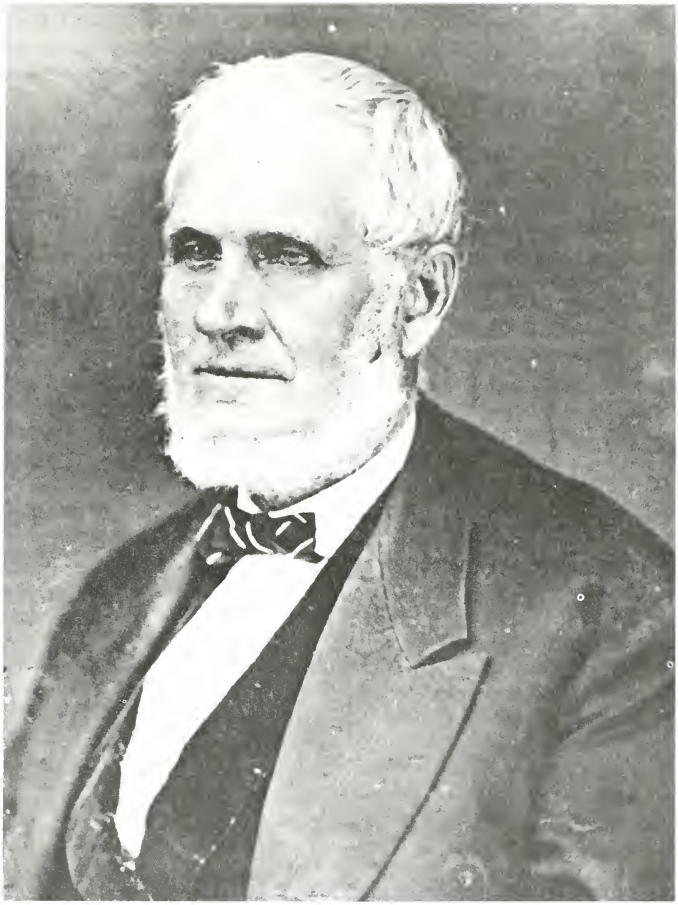
Perhaps the most important change in the printing establishment as far as ordinary Nauvoo citizens were concerned, however, was the establishment of the weekly newspaper called the *Wasp.* It had been the dream of Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith almost from the beginning of their careers in Nauvoo to publish a weekly paper which would be dedicated to news, literature, the arts, and other matters normal to most newspapers. Although, as mentioned earlier, they had advertised as early as April, 1840, that they intended to publish a weekly to be called the *News,* they were unable to secure the necessary subscribers and so they dropped the plan. Don Carlos Smith made one more attempt later on to start a weekly newspaper in Nauvoo, but this also died for want of subscribers.[59] The *Wasp,* however, seems to have begun publication without any regard to subscribers. At least, no serious effort was made to enroll subscribers. There is no indication that a prospectus was ever issued for the paper, and

the *Times and Seasons* carried no announcement of any kind concerning the establishement of the paper beyond a short notice requesting agents of the paper to act as agents for the *Wasp*.[60]

This unusual circumstance can be explained by remembering that Joseph Smith himself had just taken over control of the printing establishment and had begun acting as editor for the *Times and Seasons*. Sensitive as he was to the rumors circulating in and around Nauvoo concerning the polygamous behavior of himself and other leaders, as witnessed by his reaction to the rather innocuous marriage notice mentioned before, Joseph was beginning to be very seriously concerned with the behavior of John C. Bennett. Bennett, a notorious rogue and opportunist, had befriended the Mormons shortly after their expulsion from Missouri and had managed to worm his way into a position of some authority in Nauvoo, serving as both Mayor of Nauvoo and commander of the Nauvoo Legion. A close associate of Joseph Smith, Bennett had learned of the doctrine of plural marriage, and quickly took it up in earnest, baldly attempting the seduction of any number of women in Nauvoo. Joseph Smith realized that Bennett was becoming an embarrassment, and would have to be cut away from the church. But Smith must have also realized that Bennett was unlikely to take his fall meekly and would undoubtedly return the favor by attacking the church and unmasking the doctrine of plural marriage.[61] As the new editor of the official church newspaper, Joseph was not in the best position to defend himself and the church against Bennett and the anti-Mormon forces of the Warsaw *Signal* and other papers which would certainly pick up on Bennett's charges. Also, the *Times and Seasons* was distributed outside of Nauvoo and Joseph wouldn't have wanted any hint of these troubles to appear in the newspaper being used to help gain converts to the faith and new settlers for Nauvoo. What he needed was another journalistic medium, not immediately associated with himself, which could take the low road, so to speak, and engage in what was certain to be a polemical war. And so, the *Wasp* was rather hurriedly planned and William Smith, another of the Prophet's brothers, named as its editor. It began publication in April, 1842, and less than a month later John C. Bennett was dis-fellowshipped from the church. And when he did begin his attacks on "Old Joe" and the church, he was largely answered through the pages of the *Wasp*.

With the publication of the *Wasp*, the *Times and Seasons* no longer had to fulfill a double function and it shed whatever news oriented qualities it had. It did not, however, become the kind of religious paper that its predecessors had been. Rather it became even more concentrated on church history, and began the publication of a long series of articles prepared by Joseph Smith on the history of his revelations and the early history of the church.[62]

Joseph Smith remained as editor of the *Times and Seasons* until the close of the third volume. With the first issue of the fourth volume, on November 15, 1842, he announced that he was turning over the paper to



Nauvoo newspaper editor John Taylor. Courtesy of the Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

John Taylor.[63] Joseph's career with the *Times and Seasons* ended on a note quite similar to that on which it opened — you will remember the marriage notice. Just before he gave up the printing office there appeared on the streets of Nauvoo, over the imprint of "J. Smith, printer," a curious 37-page pamphlet by one Udney Hay Jacob, entitled: *An Extract from a Manuscript Entitled the Peace Maker. Or the Doctrines of the Millennium: Being a Treatise on Religion and Jurisprudence. Or a New System of Religion and Politics. For God, My Country and My Rights. By Udney Hay Jacob, an Israelite, and a Shepherd of Israel.* In a short note on the verso of the title page it was explained that the author was not a Mormon, although it had been printed on their press for convenience. It added about the author: "But the public will soon find out what he is, by his work." What in fact the public found out was that the author had written a sophisticated treatise advocating polygamy in lieu of divorce as a solution for marital difficulties.[64] Fawn Brodie, in her biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History,* suggested that Joseph Smith published this book in order "to break the ground before sowing broadcast the seeds of his new doctrine" of plural marriage.[65] If this is true, Joseph must have found the ground to be rather hard, for he shortly published the following notice in the *Times and Seasons:*

> There was a book printed at my office, a short time since, written by Udney J. Jacobs, on marriage, without my knowledge; and had I been apprised of it, I should not have printed it; not that I am opposed of any man enjoying his privileges; but I do not wish to have my name associated with the authors, in such unmeaning rigamarole of nonsense, folly, and trash.[66]

The doctrine of plural marriage was destined to remain an official secret for some time to come.

The man to whom Joseph Smith turned over the editorial duties of the *Times and Seasons,* John Taylor, was born in England in 1808. He emigrated to Canada and was there baptized a Mormon in 1836. He went west to Utah, in 1846, and after the death of Brigham Young, in 1877, became the third president of the church. Not long after taking over the *Times and Seasons,* Taylor also took over the editorial duties at the *Wasp,* which paper he changed to the *Neighbor* in May, 1843. He remained in control of both papers until they ceased publication in 1845 and 1846.

When he first took over the printing establishment, Taylor was joined in partnership by Wilford Woodruff, who acted as a sort of business manager for the operation. Woodruff was born in Connecticut, in 1807, and was converted to Mormonism in 1833. Because of missionary duties, Woodruff avoided most of the difficulties in Missouri. His partnership with John Taylor lasted until February, 1844, when he left Nauvoo to go on mission to England, where he remained until 1846. He also went to Utah, and in 1889 became the fourth president of the church, and, in 1890, issued the manifesto ending the practice of polygamy in Utah.

It certainly cannot be considered accidental that the men who suc-

ceeded Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as presidents of the church had earlier served in responsible positions in the printing office. But perhaps it would be more correct to say that it was no accident that the men who took over the printing office from Joseph Smith in 1842 were trusted associates and prominent members of the Council of Twelve and the Council of Fifty.[67] Having taken the printing office away from Ebenezer Robinson, Joseph Smith and the Council of Twelve made certain that the operation of the office would henceforth remain closely integrated with the highest levels of church leadership.

By 1844, Nauvoo could boast a population in excess of 10,000 inhabitants and had become the largest city in Illinois. In part due to the prosperity of the town, and in part due to the perception that the Mormons tended to vote in a block and wielded immense political power in the county, if not the state, citizens in the neighboring town of Warsaw, Illinois, were beginning to become rather vocal in their opposition to the Mormons. It is also possible that they had become aware of the political ramifications of Joseph Smith's Kingdom of God and perhaps even learned of the establishment of the Council of Fifty. And, of course, they knew something of the sexual activities of the Mormon leaders and appeared to have direct knowledge of the text of the revelation on polygamy which Joseph had showed to his own wife in 1843. These factors, and others too complicated to dwell on here, added fuel to the constantly growing fires of anti-Mormonism in Illinois, and the Warsaw newspaper, called the *Signal,* was only too happy to constantly keep all of this before its readers.[68]

Although this is sketchy at best, some of the animosity against the Mormons exhibited in the Warsaw *Signal* can be understood as a kind of journalistic envy.[69] Journalism in Illinois was hardly an easy life, few papers survived for very long, and those which did, did so with difficulty. Editors and publishers were constantly on the move looking for a community which would actually support a newspaper. Warsaw, strategically located on the Mississippi River about 20 miles south of Nauvoo, was like almost every other town in Illinois in that its citizens had come west looking for a green pasture in which to thrive — most, of course, found only failure. Newspapers served their communities not only as purveyors of news, but more importantly as boosters, constantly plugging for railroads and other internal improvements which would assure the town's continued growth and prosperity.

If the citizens in Warsaw could feel jealous about the growth and prosperity of Nauvoo, it can be imagined how much more so the editor of the *Signal* must have felt. The circulation of the *Signal* seems to have always been less than 1,000 subscribers, and the paper was always seriously in debt, and, in fact, had ceased publication on several instances, usually to be revived by dire warnings of how its permanent demise would further the Mormon desire to take over the county.[70] While one cannot dismiss the other factors which played a part in the growing animosity of Warsaw

towards Nauvoo, neither can one dismiss outright the possibility that the Warsaw *Signal* used the "Mormon menace" to its own advantage and to further its own growth.

And while the *Times and Seasons* and the *Neighbor* were not themselves necessarily openly hostile towards Warsaw, one is struck in perusing the Nauvoo papers by the fact that there is almost no mention of Warsaw at all. No ads, and almost no news about the second largest town in the county. The insular qualities of the Mormon newspapers served not only to seal off Nauvoo residents from outside influences, but also possibly caused their neighbors in Warsaw to feel that the rumors of the Mormon conspiracy to take over the county were true.[71]

This sentiment was only strengthened when Joseph Smith announced in 1844 that he was presenting himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Smith had prepared a campaign document carefully outlining his views and positions, and in February, 1844, 1,500 copies of his *Views of the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States* were published from the printing office by John Taylor.[72] These copies were widely distributed throughout the United States to various government officials and all of the principal newspaper offices. Taylor reprinted the text in the *Times and Seasons* — but not in the pages of the *Wasp* — on May 15, 1844, and two days later Joseph Smith was officially nominated by a convention held in Nauvoo.[73]

Just before this convention took place, however, the troubles over the still secret doctrine of plural marriage reached a point beyond Joseph Smith's control. Concerned with Joseph's economic and political control in Nauvoo, and increasingly alarmed by his taking of wives, a group of very prominent Mormons, including Robert D. Foster, William Law, Wilson Law, Charles and Francis Higbee began to form a dissident group within the Mormon community. When Joseph Smith made advances to Wilson Law's wife, Jane, the break became complete.

On the seventh of May, 1844, this group brought another printing press to Nauvoo and established a printing office in the house of Robert Foster. Three days later they issued a prospectus for a newspaper to be called the Nauvoo *Expositor*.[74] The prospectus announced the intention of the proprietors to use the paper as a vehicle to denounce the abuse of power by the authorities in Nauvoo and to provide evidence of the "flagrant abuses of moral delinquencies."[75] John C. Bennett had been a thoroughgoing rogue and Joseph had been able to fend off his attacks with but little difficulty, but he realized that he would be unable to turn aside as easily the attacks of men so prominent and respected in his own community. When the first issue of the *Expositor* was published on June 7th, 1844, Joseph acted quickly to insure that it would be the last. He went before the city council and had the press declared a public nuisance, and on the evening of June 10th, the city marshal of Nauvoo gathered a posse and destroyed the press and distributed the type in the streets.[76]

Such an act could hardly be called uncommon in American history, and

Illinois had its share of such outrages, the most famous of which was the destruction of Elijah Lovejoy's *Observer* in Alton a few years before and the murder of Lovejoy himself. But the destruction of the *Expositor* was not the act of an outraged citizenry, shamefully acting on some frenzied impulse. Rather this was an officially sanctioned act of the city government of Nauvoo itself, and one is hard pressed to see in it anything other than a flagrant abuse of political power.[77] Joseph Smith had spent a lifetime living by his instincts. In almost every case they had served him well. But by this point it would seem that his instincts had given way to hubris, and he was unable to foresee the ramifications of his act.

There is some irony in the knowledge that Joseph Smith had used the press in Nauvoo to help in the building up of his kingdom, and it was a press in Nauvoo which was to finally give Joseph over to his enemies. For with his destruction of the *Expositor* office, Joseph Smith had effectively delivered himself into the hands of the anti-Mormon forces in Hancock County. A warrant for his arrest was issued shortly after the *Expositor* was destroyed, and although he and his brother Hyrum went so far as to escape across the river into Iowa, they eventually surrendered to authorities in Carthage. On June 27th, an anti-Mormon mob stormed the Carthage jail in which Joseph and Hyrum Smith were incarcerated and murdered the Prophet and his brother. John Taylor, who had accompanied the brothers to jail, was wounded during the attack, but survived.

With the murder of Joseph Smith, the history of the printing office in Nauvoo enters its final stage. The Mormons remained in Nauvoo for almost two more years, and the bitter anti-Mormon feelings which had erupted in June into the violence at Carthage continued in what has come to be called the Mormon War. Throughout most of this period, the *Times and Seasons* largely maintained its sedate demeanor, and most of the news of the violence was carried in the pages of the *Neighbor*. Curiously enough, during the trial of the persons indicted for the murder of Joseph Smith neither paper carried any news concerning the trial. One Mormon in the printing office did issue a pamphlet containing an account of the murders by William M. Daniels, but when its author was brought before the court to testify against the defendants, his account did not stand up very well under cross-examination.[78] According to an unreliable account provided by Joseph Smith's brother William, Brigham Young was so outraged by the publication of this work that he ordered the murder of its author.[79] While this account is probably false, it does serve to emphasize the attitude of the Mormon elders and highlights the role assumed by the press during this period. Shortly after the murder of Joseph Smith the Saints began making serious plans to leave Nauvoo, but they needed time to avoid reliving their hasty retreat from Missouri years earlier, and the Twelve were determined that the Temple be completed so that the Nauvoo Mormons could receive their endowments before vacating the city.

In the fall of 1845, John Taylor announced at a church conference that he thought the time had come to cease publication of the *Times and*

Seasons and *Neighbor*. The Twelve decided that the latter should cease publication immediately and that the former should continue until the current volume was completed.[80] The *Neighbor* abruptly ceased publication in October, 1845, and the *Times and Seasons* finally ended publication in February, 1846.

When the *Times and Seasons* ceased publication, the printing office was taken over by a gentile named William Matlack, who began the publication of a paper called the *Hancock Eagle* in the interests of the Mormons who remained in Nauvoo, as well as those non-Mormons, called New Citizens, who had purchased Mormon property. Matlack died not long after he took over the office, and the *Eagle* ceased publication in August, 1846. With the suspension of the *Eagle* the Nauvoo printing office passed out of Mormon hands.

The Mormons fled Missouri in 1839 a motley group of individuals only loosely tied together by their faith. In Nauvoo, the Mormons prospered and the institutional church grew strong enough to survive the murder of its founder. The Mormon sense of identity, deeply involved with the history of the former day saints revealed in the Book of Mormon, was made deeper and stronger during the years in Nauvoo in part with the aid of the church printing office. What had happened in Missouri would never happen again; the Mormons would leave Nauvoo en bloc as a church with their leadership intact and their sense of identity strong.

NOTES

[1]Robert Flanders makes only passing reference to the printing office and its publications in his *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965). Parry D. Sorensen's *"Nauvoo Times and Seasons," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 55 (Summer, 1962), 117-135, is both inaccurate and uninformative.

[2]A brief account of all of these printing offices with a bibliography of the productions of the presses can be found in Peter Crawley, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," *BYU Studies* 12 (1972), 465-537.

[3]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902-1912; 6 vols., a seventh volume was published in 1932; reprinted by Deseret Book Company, 1976, and reissued in paperback in 1978), vol. 4, p. 398. Purportedly written by Joseph Smith, the *History* was edited by B. H. Roberts from various Mormon diaries, journals and records. Hereafter cited as *History of the Church*. An interesting account of this work is Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Changes in Joseph Smith's History* (Salt Lake City, Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1964). William Miller is credited with the act of burying the press by Juanita Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), vol. I, p. 99, note. Miller is best remembered today for his role in the "Bogus Brigham" incident in Nauvoo in December, 1845.

[4]Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History of the Editor," *The Return,* vol. 2, no. 5 (Davis City, Iowa, May, 1890), p. 257. *The Return* was a monthly periodical edited, published and printed by Ebenezer Robinson at Davis City, Iowa, from January, 1889, to February, 1891. Beginning with the April, 1889, issue, Robinson published his autobiographical reminiscences, under the title listed above.

[5]*The Return,* (April, 1889), pp. 57-59.

[6]*The Return,* (May, 1889), pp. 75-76.

[7]*The Return,* (April, 1890), pp. 241-44; and (May, 1890), 258.

[8]The biographical information relating to Don Carlos Smith is taken from the *History of the Church,* vol. 4, pp. 393-98.

[9]Unfortunately no separate copy of this prospectus has survived. The text of the prospectus was reprinted in the *Times and Seasons* in the first issue of July, 1839, and reprinted again in the November, 1839, issue.

[10]*The Return,* (May, 1890), pp. 257-58. A slightly different account of the establishment of the printing office is given in the *History of the Church,* vol. 4, page 398. That account essentially ignores Ebenezer Robinson and glorifies Don Carlos Smith's role in the establishment of the printing office.

[11]*The Return,* (May, 1890), p. 258.

[12]Most of the extant runs of the *Times and Seasons* begin with the November, 1839, issue. A copy of the original July, 1839, issue can be found in the library of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Independence, Missouri.

[13]Wayne Ham, *Publish Glad Tidings: Readings in Early Latter Day Saint Sources* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1970), p. 30.

[14]A prospectus for this paper, to be called *The News,* was published in the *Times and Seasons* in April, 1840 (p. 96). The editors announced in the issue of December 1, 1840 (p. 234), that due to a lack of subscribers publication of *The News* has been deferred "for the present."

Such "secular" partners had been issued in Independence, Missouri, and Kirtland, Ohio.

[15]Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 119.

[16]This generalization is not meant to imply that there was absolutely no news of the outside world in the *Times and Seasons,* but generally that what "news" was printed was intended to strengthen Mormon views about Nauvoo and the world at large. Of course, 19th century editors had an entirely different sense of "news" than do modern editors and readers, and the *Times and Seasons* was primarily a "religious" periodical.

[17]In the *Times and Seasons* of December, 1839 (p. 25), the editors printed a resolution of "the Presidency and high council of this place," that "ten thousand copies of a Hymn Book, be printed; also that the Book of Mormon be re-printed in this place, under the inspection of the Presidency, as soon as monies can be raised to defray the expenses." See also: *The History of the Church,* vol. 4, p. 49.

[18]*Times and Seasons,* (April, 1840), p. 91. This advertisement only specifies that the money is to be used for "BOOK printing."

[19]*Times and Seasons,* (May, 1840), p. 112.

[20]*The Return,* (May, 1890), pp. 258-259.

[21]*The Return,* (May, 1890), pp. 259-62. Robinson's interesting account of the printing of the 1840 edition of the Book of Mormon does not begin to answer all of the questions which surround that edition. For instance, his account clearly states that he paid for the binding of 2,000 copies of the Book of Mormon in Cincinnati, and returned to Nauvoo with about 1,000 of these copies. But, he had negotiated with Joseph Smith to print 4,000 copies. It is possible that Robinson was intending to print the other 2,000 copies from the stereotype plates after he returned to Nauvoo. This might possibly help explain the two issues of the book (see Colton Storm's *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana* [Chicago, University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968], item #709, which contains a simple description of the two issues), as well as the disputed "index" to the Book of Mormon (see Cecil Byrd's *Bibliography of Illinois Imprints, 1814-1858* [Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966], item #511). Answers to these questions await a more detailed study of the operations of the Nauvoo printing office.

[22]*Times and Seasons,* (November 1, 1840), p. 208.

[23]*Times and Seasons,* (November 1, 1840), p. 204.

[24]Kimball's journal was advertised as "just published" in the *Times and Seasons* for January 2, 1841, p. 271.

[25]Robert B. Thompson's "Introduction" to Heber C. Kimball's *Journal* (Nauvoo: Robinson & Smith, 1840), pp. vi-vii. Kimball's *Journal* has been reprinted in facsimile in *Nauvoo Classics* (Salt Lake City: Mormon Heritage Publishers, 1976).

[26]*Times and Seasons,* (September, 1840), p. 169.

[27]*Times and Seasons,* (December 15, 1840), p. 248.

[28]James Mulholland's book of poetry, entitled *An Address to Americans: A Poem in Blank Verse* (Nauvoo, Ebenezer Robinson, printer, 1841) was advertised as "just published" on January 1, 1841, in the same advertisement announcing the publication of Kimball's *Journal.* Because Mulholland's work carried only the imprint of Ebenezer Robinson, printing must have begun after the dissolution of the partnership of Robinson & Smith, and hence after printing had begun on Kimball's *Journal.*

[29]Eliza Roxey Snow, *Time and Change: A Poem in Blank Verse. Also Two Odes, One for the Sons of Liberty, the Other for the Fourth of July* (Nauvoo: E. Robinson, 1841).

[30]Robinson & Smith announced that they were going to publish this hymn book in the *Times and Seasons* of November 1, 1840. The work was described as "just out of the press" in the *Times and Seasons* of March 15, 1841, p. 355. The book was published over the imprint of Ebenezer Robinson.

[31]*The Latter-Day Saints: A Poem in Two Cantos,* by "Omer," (Nauvoo: for the author, 1841). Although no printer is listed on the title page of this work, it can be assigned to the *Times and Seasons* office with some certainty. A long editorial notice of the work appeared in the *Times and Seasons* on June 15, 1841 (p. 449), and the same issue carried an advertisement for the work, noting that it was "for sale at this office, at the stores of J. Smith and C. W. Lyon" (p. 454). Both Cecil Byrd, in his *Bibliography of Illinois Imprints, 1814-1858* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1966), and Chad Flake, in his *Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930)* (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1978), were unwilling to definitely assign Littlefield as the author of this work. However, in his autobiography, *Reminiscences of Latter-Day Saints* (Logan, Utah, Utah Journal Co., 1888), Littlefield describes how he came to write a romance entitled "Eliza, or, the Broken Vow," which title "Omer" is credited with writing on the title page of The Latter-Day Saints.

[32]*Times and Seasons,* (May 1, 1841), p.403.

[33]*Times and Seasons,* (August 16, 1841), p. 517.

[34]*Times and Seasons,* (September 1, 1841), p. 519.

[35]Quoted in Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith* (Second edition; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), p. 289.

[36]*The Return,* (July, 1890), p. 302. Robinson stated that he began the work of stereotyping the hymn book and the *Doctrine and Covenants* in the spring of 1841. Of course, Robinson was also busy with other job printing work, which included the printing of the stock certificates for the Nauvoo House.

[37]*The Return,* (September, 1890), p. 324. Robinson describes a visit from Joseph Smith in which Smith gave him a warning: "He said: 'The Twelve are wanting to get the *Times and Seasons* from you, and I thought I would tell you, for I am sorry to see any feelings of difference arise between you [and the] brethren who have borne the burden in the heat of the day."

[38]*History of the Church,* vol. 4, p. 454.

[39]Robinson's announcement of having secured the services of Gustavus Hills, as well as Hills' "Salutory," appeared in the *Times and Seasons* on January 15, 1842, p. 663.

[40]*History of the Church,* vol. 4, p. 463.

[41]*History of the Church,* vol. 4, p. 467.

[42]*History of the Church,* vol. 4, p. 503.

[43]*The Return,* (September, 1890), p. 325.

[44]*The Return,* (October, 1890), p. 346. In the *History of the Church,* vol. 4, pp. 514-14, Joseph Smith reported that the purchase price was "between 7,000 and 8,000 dollars." Although Robinson was writing of the event many years later, he states in his account that he was referring to his account book "which I kept at the time, and which is now before me." Thus, I believe, there is little reason to doubt Robinson's account of the transaction.

[45]*The Return,* (October, 1890), pp. 346-47.

[46]I have found no direct evidence of the size of the subscription list of the *Times and Seasons,* but the *Hancock Eagle,* the paper published by William Matlack on behalf of the Mormons after they had begun leaving Nauvoo in 1846, reported in its issue of April 24, 1846, that it had 1,200 subscribers and would thereafter print 2,000 copies. Considering that the population of Nauvoo had seriously declined by April of 1845, it is reasonable to assume that the circulation of the *Times and Seasons* would have been substantially larger than that of the *Eagle.*

[47]*The Return,* (October, 1890), p. 346.

[48]Under the date of January 17, 1841, the *History of the Church,* vol. 4, pp. 494-95, states that "the Council were unanimously opposed to Robinson's publishing the Book of Mormon and other books."

[49]Joseph Smith's warning to Ebenezer Robinson bears repeating: "The Twelve are wanting to get the *Times and Seasons* from you, and I thought I would tell you, for I am sorry to see any feelings of difference arise between you [and the] *brethren who have borne the burden in the heat of the day."* [Emphasis added.] *The Return,* (September, 1890), 324.

[50]The best work on the Council of Fifty is Klaus J. Hanson, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

[51]The actual revelation concerning the Political Kingdom was received by Joseph Smith on April 7, 1842.

[52]*The Return,* (June, 1890), 287. Robinson recounts a conversation with Don Carlos Smith in June, 1341, in which he quotes Don Carlos Smith: "Any man who will teach and practice the doctrine of spiritual wifery will go to hell. I don't care if it is my brother Joseph."

[53]*Times and Seasons,* (February 15, 1842), p. 696. This notice, headed "To Subscribers," was signed "Ed." The editor was listed on page 792 of the same issue as Joseph Smith.

[54]*Times and Seasons,* (February 15, 1842), p. 701.

[55]The fact that the *Warsaw Signal* picked up on the implications of the marriage announcement is found in a letter of Lyman O. Littlefield published in the *Times and Seasons* on March 15, 1842, p. 729. Littlefield makes reference to a "very wanton and ungentlemanly attack" on Joseph Smith published in the "last" *Warsaw Signal.* Littlefield's letter is dated March 14, 1842, but it is not clear which issue of the *Signal* he was referring to. The issue of the *Signal* for March 9, 1842, i.e. the "last" issue before Littlefield's letter was written, contains no attack on Joseph Smith, nor do the issues of February 16 and February 23. Unfortunately, the issues of March 2nd and March 16th are not extant.

[56]*Times and Seasons,* (March 1, 1842), p. 710. Curiously, this notice appears under the dateline of "Tuesday, March 15, 1842."

[57]*Times and Seasons,* (March 15, 1842), p. 729.

[58]"From the standpoint of the church which survived him, the Book of Abraham was the most unfortunate thing Joseph ever wrote." — Brodie, p. 174. Eleven

fragments of these papyri were discovered at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1967 and returned to the Utah church. Unfortunately, scholarly work on the papyri confirmed that they were ordinary funeral documents. An extended account of the Book of Abraham papyri can be found in Jerald and Sandra Tanner's *Mormonism: Shadow or Reality?* (Fourth edition; Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1982), p. 294-369D.

[59]Don Carlos Smith published a prospectus for a weekly paper to be called the *Nauvoo Ensign and Zarahemla Standard* in the *Times and Seasons* on June 15, 1841, p. 453. In the *Times and Seasons* of November 1, 1841 (p. 535), Ebenezer Robinson announced that the proposed weekly had been abandoned.

[60]*Times and Seasons,* (April 15, 1842), p. 766. I have been unable to locate any reference to a prospectus for the *Wasp* published in any other Illinois paper of the period. Prospectuses for both of the weeklies proposed earlier in Nauvoo were published in the *Times and Seasons.*

[61]Bennett's main attack against the Joseph Smith was published as *The History of the Saints; or, An Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842). Bennett also published articles in various newspapers, most notably the *Sangamo Journal,* and gave lectures through the East prior to the publication of his book.

[62]The publication of Joseph Smith's history actually began a short time before the first issue of the *Wasp* was published. The first issue to contain the history was that of March 1, 1842.

[63]*Times and Seasons,* (November 15, 1842), p. 8. At this time, Joseph Smith maintained ownership of the printing office, only leasing it to Taylor and Woodruff for a period of five years (*History of the Church,* vol. 5, pp. 198-9). Smith later sold the establishment to John Taylor in January of 1844 (*History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 185). Taylor moved the printing office from the corner of Water and Bain streets to the building at Main and Kimball streets in May, 1845 [which building is still standing in Nauvoo]. Taylor's decision to move the printing office is surprising, despite his announcement that the move was being made in order to enlarge the establishment, considering that he was certainly aware that time was running out for the Mormons at Nauvoo [the official decision concerning suspending publication of the periodicals was made in October of 1845]. I believe that Taylor's decision to move the printing office was a direct outcome of the antagonism which existed between Emma Smith and Brigham Young. Joseph Smith sold John Taylor the printing establishment in 1844, but he retained ownership of the property at Water and Bain.

[64]An interesting account of Jacob and his work can be found in John Hallwas, *Western Illinois Heritage* (Macomb: Illinois Heritage Press, 1983), pp. 79-81.

[65]Brodie, p. 298.

[66]*Times and Seasons,* (December 1, 1842), p. 32.

[67]At a meeting with the Twelve on April 19, 1843, Joseph Smith told John Taylor: "I believe you can do more good in the editorial department than preaching. You can write for thousands to read; while you can preach to but a few at a time. We have no one else we can trust the paper with . . ." *History of the Church,* vol. 5,p. 367.

[68]Unfortunately, there is no detailed study of the Warsaw newspapers and their editors; only Thomas Gregg has received any real attention, in John Hallwas, *Thomas Gregg: Early Illinois Journalist and Author,* Western Illinois Monograph Series, number 2 (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1983).

[69]Bad feelings among journalists was not unique to Warsaw and Nauvoo. For instance, John York Sawyer, editor of Vandalia's *Illinois Advocate,* made scurrilous attacks on the character of Meinrad Greiner, editor of the *Vandalia Whig & Illinois Intelligencer,* because of their natural economic and political rivalry and Sawyer's anger over having lost to Greiner the contract to print the Laws of 1833.

[70]The *Signal* noted in its issue of July 2, 1845, that it had 700 subscribers; in its issue of July 28, 1846, it noted that it had 900 subscribers. Of course, subscribers alone rarely sufficed to keep a newspaper solvent. Most newspaper printing offices relied on job printing as well. One of the difficulties facing the *Signal* was that the Mormons, through their eventual control of the county, were able to secure the lucrative contracts for publication of the county tax delinquent list and for the various county "forms" for their own printing office.

[71]Hancock County was one of the very few counties in Illinois which did not have a newspaper office located in its county seat. Although Carthage had been the home of the first paper published in the county, *The Carthagenian,* established in 1836, no paper was published in Carthage from 1837 until 1853. Centrally located in the county away from the Mississippi River, Carthage lacked the natural advantages of both Warsaw and Nauvoo and exercised but little economic power in the county.

[72]Under the date of February 24th, Joseph Smith noted "Fifteen hundred copies of my 'Views' out of press." *History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 224. Smith completed the text of his work on February 7th, and it was publicly read for the first time on February 8th (*History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 210) and then read to a large public meeting at Nauvoo on February 9th (*History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 211).

[73]Although the text of Smith's *Views* was not printed in the *Neighbor,* it was advertised for sale by that paper on February 28, 1844, p. 2.

[74]Under the date of May 7, Joseph Smith noted "An opposition printing press arrives at Dr. Foster's." *History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 357. Smith further noted on May 10th, "a prospectus of the *Nauvoo Expositor* was distributed among the people by the apostates" (p. 363). Dale Morgan mistakenly believed that this prospectus "was not printed by the Mormon press in Nauvoo; it may have been printed in St. Louis." *A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion* (N.p., [1953]), 1.] As noted by Byrd, in the notes to his item #880, these two statements in the *History* would "seem to prove incontestably that the *prospectus* was printed in Nauvoo."

[75]*History of the Church,* vol. 6, p. 443-44.

[76]*History of the Church,* vol. 6, pp. 432-452.

[77]Although Dallin H. Oaks found "considerable basis in the law of their day for their action in characterizing the published issues [sic] of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance . . . there was no legal justification in 1844 for the destruction of the *Expositor* press." Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the *Nauvoo Expositor,*" *Utah Law Review,* 9 (Winter, 1965), 890-91, quoted in Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill,

Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 26, note 48. Perhaps the case in Illinois which most closely parallels that of the destruction of the *Expositor* is Lincoln's suppression of the *Chicago Times*. But in that instance the suppression ceased after a relatively short period of time and the press itself was not destroyed.

[78]William M. Daniels, *A Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, at Carthage, on the 27th Day of June, 1844* (Nauvoo: Published by John Taylor, for the Proprietor, 1844). Lyman O. Littlefield was responsible for the publication of this pamphlet. See Oaks and Hill, pp. 125-36, for an account of Daniels' testimony.

[79]William Smith's charges appeared in a letter, dated "Perkins Grove, Sept. 24, 1846," published in the *Sangamo Journal* (November 5, 1846), p. 3.

[80]*Times and Seasons*, (November 1, 1845), p. 1015.

SEX ROLES, MARRIAGE AND CHILDREARING AT MORMON NAUVOO

M. Guy Bishop

On a sweeping bend of the Mississippi River in Illinois, the beleaguered followers of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, tried once again to sketch out their view of the ideal society. The Saints, as these people preferred to call themselves, had attempted, in vain, to build godly communities previously in Ohio and Missouri. But their neighbors, often in collusion with Mormon apostates, had taken exception to their exclusive social, economic, and political tendencies, not to mention their very different religious beliefs, and repeatedly drove the Mormons from their midst. Finally, still seeking a safe harbor where they could live as they pleased, the Mormons began to build the city of Nauvoo in 1839.

Mormonism viewed itself as an entire way of life and not just a religion. Domestic life, with all of the activities related to it, was an area of utmost concern to Joseph Smith and his followers as they sought to construct a community of the faithful at Nauvoo. The denomination's sacred Book of Mormon began with the story of a family's attempt to escape religious persecution — a saga with which the Saints could easily identify. Marriage and kinship bonds were seen as inseparable in Mormon theology by the early 1840s, and procreation was viewed as an obligation. With 1846 came the completion of the Nauvoo Temple which was intended to house, among other activities, the rite of "sealing" — said to bind marital vows for "time and eternity" through the Latter-day Saint priesthood.[1] For the Saints of Nauvoo, views of sex roles, marriage, and childrearing practices were shaped by their perspective of eternity.

The Mormons, in several ways, mirrored many cherished national beliefs about the roles of men and women, about the significance of marital relationships, and about child nurture. While most discussions of the private side of nineteenth century Mormonism have tended to be examinations of the theory and practice of plural marriage (polygamy), scant scholarly attention has been paid to the more mundane aspects of Mormon gender roles and family life.[2] This study will provide an overview of domestic life at Mormon Nauvoo during the 1840s, asking three ques-

tions: what importance did Mormonism place upon domesticity; what were the areas of emphasis regarding sex roles and marriage; and how was the diligent Mormon parent encouraged to approach childrearing? Important questions to be asked to further understanding of these Illinois Saints include how much did the teachings of Joseph Smith and other Mormon ecclesiastical leaders impact upon the the Saints' thinking about domestic matters; was this counsel generally followed; and how did Mormon thought on these issues compare with that of Jacksonian Americans at large and how did it significantly differ?

I.

As did their contemporaries, Nauvoo Mormons clearly structured the roles of men and women. Joseph Smith announced a revelation from the Lord to his own wife, Emma, in July 1830, just three months after the founding of the Church of Christ (as Mormonism was initially known). Although this directive was specifically for Emma Smith, its dictates could be applied to all Mormon women and, in truth, to the majority of mid-nineteenth century females. Known in the lore of Mormonism as the "elect lady" revelation, the prophet's wife was told that she was highly favored of God and that if she were faithful the riches of the next life would be hers. "Let thy soul delight in thy husband," Emma was admonished. Then, in keeping with the contemporary assessment of feminine talents, she was assigned to compile a collection of sacred hymns for use in religious services and to act as a scribe for Joseph Smith.[3] Although this revelation took place in upstate New York nearly a decade before the Nauvoo Mormon experience even began, it would remain a cornerstone of thought on the role of women through the Illinois years of Mormonism and beyond.

Over two decades ago historian Barbara Welter defined four characteristics ascribed to "true womanhood" which, apparently, were held in high esteem by mid-nineteenth century Americans — piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity.[4] While, clearly, such a sweeping generalization did not apply to *all* women in the United States during this middle period of the nation's history, it still provides a good guideline for attempting to compare Mormon values with national ones. As discussed in an extensive network of women's magazines, religious tracts, and marital guides, the American woman discovered that certain revered traits seemed to circumscribe socially acceptable and desirable activities for females. And the incorporation of these sex-specific activities altered many aspects of family life in the United States in the years before the Civil War.

Women assumed, or were assigned, stewardship over the young; were given the charge to uplift national morality; and were expected to serve as "angels of mercy" to their husbands. This growing emphasis upon designated social responsibilities and gender roles has been interpreted by some historians as a search for order in a chaotic world and by others as an overt attempt to subordinate women.[5] While Mormon society often seemed to reflect these national trends, its stance, at least in the Mormon

Mormon family, c. 1850. Courtesy of the Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

mind, was based solidly upon what was perceived as divine will and not upon temporal positions. Since Joseph Smith was revered among believers as a prophet of God, he spoke with divine authority for church members. Thus, injuctions issued by Smith in regard to domestic issues as well as religious polity would be viewed as going beyond merely the more enlightened thinking of man and became the word of the Lord on a host of subjects. "Behold, mine house is a house of order," spoke the Mormon God through his prophet, and this order outlined clear roles for men and women.[6]

It has been suggested by one student of the subject that simple explanations of sex stereotypes, with accompanying heroes or villains, do not stand up under rigorous historical investigation.[7] And so it will be in this consideration of Mormon gender sterotypes. The Saints' attitudes concerning the place of females in their society were formed at a time when American thought on womanhood was in the transitional state described above. And, as was the case with their gentile (non-Mormon) sisters, Mormon women were also the subject of a good deal of literary effort. For example, in 1838 the *Elders Journal,* a church periodical printed at Kirkland, Ohio, had observed that "it is the duty of the wife, to be in subject [to] her husband at all times," in meekness and in the love of God. She was further counselled to look to her spouse for instruction, edification, and comfort.[8] This advice was but an elaboration of what Emma Smith had been told eight years earlier.

Mormon newspapers of the Nauvoo years reenforced such thinking as they spoke to female Saints concerning their divinely-appointed position in mortality. In theoretical harmony with the national emphasis on companionate marriage and the development of useful domestic skills among young women, the *Wasp* published the following guidance in 1842:

> When a man of sense comes to marry, it is a companion he wants . . . a being who can comfort; can assist him in his affairs, lighten his sorrows, purify his joys, strengthen his principles, and educate his children. Such is the woman who is fit for a mother and the mistress of a family.

Two weeks later this same newspaper professed that "the proper sphere of woman is home." This was her "great office in the social system" to provide her husband with a happy abode, to train her children so that they may be the pride of their father, to serve the family and to guide them in paths of righteousness.[9]

Mormon wives were advised to make their husband's habitation as alluring and delightful as possible — "a sanctuary to which his heart may always turn from the ills and anxieties of life." A prudent woman, as judged by this particular writer, let home be the sole scene of her wishes, her plans, and her exertions. She was conscious of household expenses, hospitable to friends of her husband, and cautious to never assume jurisdiction over her mate. Such care and vigilence would, she was told, insure domestic bliss.[10]

Advice directed to men in 1844 offered further insight into values deemed proper for the Mormon women of Nauvoo. In a newspaper article written as a guide for gentlemen to follow in selecting a wife, prospective grooms were warned never to marry a woman who lacked necessary domestic skills such as cooking and sewing; to avoid those women who tended to be proud and haughty; and not to wed a gossip.[11] As these traits further revealed, the "true" Mormon woman was almost a mirror image of the national paradigm.

This also reveals that Mormon women were not the only ones whose expected behavior was closely circumscribed. The Latter-day Saint male was also given guidelines to adhere to. American men of the mid-nineteenth century were, in theory, hard working individuals bent upon economic progress and professional success. They have most commonly been portrayed by historians in the urban, middle class setting. Their most well known attributes seem to be anxiety and, in practice, lack of a dominant role in the family.[12] Admittedly, this man is probably better known during the turn of the century period than in these earlier years.

For the mid-nineteenth century Mormon male, however, a reasonably clear picture of expectations emerges. An 1838 statement in the *Elders Journal* made it clear that a Latter-day Saint man was to "love, cherish, and nourish his wife, and cleave unto her and none else . . . It is his *duty* to be a man of God [who is] ready at all times to obtain from the scriptures, the revelations, and from on high, such instructions as are necessary for the edification, and salvation of his household."[13] Whereas the typical mid-nineteenth century American male was customarily accountable only for a token amount of religiousity — the woman always expected to be the pious one — Mormon men were to be pillars of godliness. In fact, Latter-day Saint men of the Nauvoo years were expected to measure up to standards nearly equivalent to Barbara Welter's "true woman."

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* implored Mormon men to "never give [their wives] cause to repent the confidence . . . reposed in you." A wise and happy married man, the newspaper surmised, never jested about matrimony; gave up all male acquaintances of whom his wife disapproved; focused his social attentions at home; and treated his spouse with wisdom, gentleness, and love. "Never," wrote the essayist, "witness a tear from your wife with apathy or indifference."[14]

For Nauvoo Mormons sex roles were based upon divine decree. It was firmly belived that the "finger of God himself has marked out the line which separates the impulses, the habits, and the character of the two sexes." Each gender complemented the other in a well-ordered heavenly plan. Man was credited with more vigor, a greater capacity for reasoning, more frequently correct judgment, physical prowess, and innately stronger passions. Woman, on the other hand, was endowed with more astute feelings, increased moral courage, a more refined sense of asthetic values, and a feminine gentility. "In a word," claimed a treatise on the subject, "the relative position of the sexes is fixed beyond change and

their respective duties are well defined."[15] Man had the natural abilities to be the breadwinner while woman possessed the traits needed to fulfil the role of wife and mother. Certainly the sages of pre-Civil War gender stereotyping would have found little in the stance of Mormonism to argue with — or, possibly, the Saints merely incorporated national beliefs quite successfully.

As was observed above, historical scholarship regarding the Mormons and marriage has most commonly emphasized the practice of plural marriage. But, in reality, polygamy had little real impact on the daily lives of Nauvoo Saints. Granted, Joseph Smith and a small clique of Mormon elites did embrace the taking of multiple wives during the later stages of the Nauvoo experience, but most marriages at the city were of the more traditional manner.

During the early 1840s, however, marital status emerged as a prime concern not only for Joseph Smith but for most of the Saints — yet the fruition of this nascent thought, the actual priesthood sealing of marriages, did not become a standard Mormon practice until after the denomination's removal to the Great Basin several years later. Yet, as early as 1835, William Wine Phelps had written an essay in an Ohio Latter-day Saint newspaper which foreshadowed later teachings on eternal marriage. "We may prepare ourselves for a kingdom of glory," wrote Phelps, "where the man is neither without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord."[16]

In harmony with their contemporaries, the Mormons also stressed the sanctitity of marriage, the virtues of domesticity, and an emphasis upon sexual union primarily for purposes of procreation. These values remained constant whether applied to a monogamous or plural relationship. The first formal pronouncement issued by Joseph Smith concerning marriage took place at Kirktland, Ohio, in 1835. The prophet's remarks as he officiated at the ceremony uniting Newel Knight and Lydia Goldthwaite served to dictate Mormon marriage patterns thereafter.

> After prayers I requested them [Knight and Goldthwaite] to rise and join hands. I then remarked that marriage was an institution of heaven, instituted in the Garden of Eden; that it was necessary that it was solemnized by the authority of the everlasting Priesthood. The ceremony was original with me, and in substance as follows — You covenant to be each other's companion through life, and [to] discharge the duties of husband and wife in every respect . . . I then pronounced them husband and wife.[17]

Herein Joseph Smith firmed up the Mormon belief that matrimony was an ordinance approved of by the Lord and that it was properly administered by ecclesiastical authority.

At Nauvoo the power to perform marriages was apparently granted to any worthy Mormon elder since the community's newspapers and official ledgers abounded with references to weddings conducted by scores of historically-obscure men.[18] As might be expected, prominent Nauvooans

and high-ranking church members were customarily wed by a member of the denominational leadership. Such generalizations can only be applied to traditional, mortality unions, however, for in the relatively few priesthood-sealed eternal marriages the officiator was *always* a member of the church's hierarchy.

An ordinance passed at Nauvoo in February 1842 established city-wide regulations for marriages. A minimum age of 17 years for males and 14 years for females was established. Anyone under those ages was required to obtain parental consent to marry. Officially power was bestowed upon the mayor, alderman, justices of the peace, judges, and all ordained ministers of the gospel.[19] This was not a great concession on the part of Nauvoo's Mormon hierarchy, however, since most of the listed civic officials were also the community ecclesiastical leaders.

Available statistics reveal an average of slightly over one hundred marriages per year in Nauvoo for 1843 and 1844. These figures do not include priesthood sealed marriages which were not publically noted, nor do they account for nuptials solemnized in Mormon communities outside of the city limits. Charlotte Haven, a non-Mormon visitor to Nauvoo, wished that sealings had been held openly. "I had heard," she wrote in 1843, "that in some cases the marriage is not only for time but for eternity." Miss Haven urgently wished to witness such a ceremony, but this simply was not to be.[20]

Clearly Joseph Smith had started to seriously consider the doctrine of priesthood sealings by 1839-40, although the earlier mention by William W. Phelps may well place the date around 1835. Parley P. Pratt, who spent several days with the prophet in Philadelphia at this later time, observed it was then that he first learned of eternal marriage:

> It was from him [Smith] that I learned that the wife of my bosom might be secured to me for time and all eternity; and that the refined sympathies and affections which endeared us to each other emanated from the fountain of divine eternal love.[21]

But, whether the germ of the concept began at Kirtland or later, it was refined and more universally taught at Nauvoo.

In the early 1840s, Joseph Smith began to direct a number of his disciples that sealed marriages were an essential step in the quest for post mortal exaltation (which meant, in Mormon theology, the richest of postmortal happiness). The prophet elaborated upon this emerging Latter-day Saint doctrine in a sermon delivered at Ramus, Illinois, not far from Nauvoo, in May 1843. Instructions presented at that time stated,

> Except a man and his wife enter into an everlasting covenant and be married for eternity, while in this probation [mortality] they will cease to increase when they die; that is they will not have any children after the resurrection. But those who are married by the power and authority of the priesthood in this life [will] continue to increase and have children in the celestial glory.

While a detailed description of Mormon theology is not intended in this study, suffice it to say that many of the Saints of Nauvoo believed that in the Celestial Kingdom, or the greatest glory of the afterlife, the faithful would continue to procreate spirit children after a pattern which Joseph Smith taught had been ongoing and would continue forever. Hence, eternal marriage held great importance for believers.[22]

The doctrine that marital relationships were an essential step toward gaining one's postmortal inheritance, and the adjoining concept of procreation after the resurrection, was a significant divergence from traditional Christianity. Marriage was never deemed to be necessary to a person's salvation by any of the major mid-nineteenth century American religions. In fact, the denial of the sancitity of the institution was the main aspect of at least one antebellum sect — the Shakers — who strictly espoused celibacy. In at least one Nauvoo discourse, clearly related to the doctrine of sealing marriages, Joseph Smith warned, "Those who keep no eternal law in this life or make no eternal contract are single and alone in the eternal world and are only angels to minister to those who shall be hiers of salvation [in the highest realms of the celestial kingdom]."[23]

Along with the more traditional unions mentioned previously, the later Nauvoo period witnessed a number of priesthood sealings, particularly among those of the leading Saints. For example, in November 1843 Hyrum Smith sealed the marriage of Wilford Woodruff and Phebe W. Carter "for time and eternity." A few months later Erastus Snow, another member of the Mormon hierarchy, observed that "according to the laws and provisions of the holy priesthood [I] was married and sealed for time and eternity to Artemsia Beman."[24]

A group of Mormon elites, commonly referred to as the "Quorum," were among the first to receive the sealing ordinance. These 36 men and 29 women, the "true and faithful" of Nauvoo society in the eyes of Joseph Smith, included the church's Twelve Apostles, their spouses, and select others. By May 1843 the marriages of Joseph and Emma Smith, Heber and Vilate Kimball, Willard and Jennetta Richards, Hyrum and Mary Fielding Smith, Brigham and Mary Ann Angell Young, and James and Harriet Adams had been sealed. In addition, those with deceased mates also had them sealed by proxy—for example, Hyrum Smith and his first wife, Jerusha Barden.[25]

Following the death of Joseph Smith in 1844 and the completion of the Nauvoo Temple late the next year, a number of Mormon couples who were not members of the original "Quorum" also participated in this rite. For example, in January 1846 the parents of Samuel Rogers were sealed in the temple. The next month Newell Knight, Sr., Daniel McArthur, and their wives were among those who had their unions sealed. Both Knight and McArthur also had deceased spouses sealed to them vicariously—in both instances their current wife acted as the proxy.[26]

It might be expected, and the leaders of Mormonism certainly hoped, that with such marked socio-religious emphasis upon marriage all unions

would be strong and remain intact. Yet the darker side of marital relations also existed at Nauvoo. While divorce was generally not condoned among the Mormons, *de facto* separation or outright desertion sporadically occured. The Nauvoo newspapers were obliged to print notices which attested this fact. In September of 1842, for example, Nathaniel Whiting placed the following typical notice in the *Wasp:*

> Whereas my wife Casander J. Whiting eloped my bed and board about one year ago, without any just cause or provocation, and has not returned; this is, therefore, to forbid all persons trusting her on my account, as I shall pay no debts of her contracting.

Similarly, Isaac Rogers announced the departure of his spouse in April 1843; William Whitemarsh and William Nesbitt in November of that year; and John Gribble in May 1845.[27]

More often than not the deserted husband expressed his greatest concern over the personal property which his estranged wife had taken with her rather than her departure. Perhaps this was an indication that the marriage had already deteriorated beyond reconciliation. William Nesbitt charged that his departed mate "has taken a quantity of household furniture, clothing and money." Isaac Roger's wife, who reportedly eloped with an Englishman, "took or caused to be taken [all] my household furniture." Each man offered substantial sums for the return of his property, then sarcastically offered one cent for his wife![28] It would appear that Mormon women judged that at least some of the household possessions were rightfully theirs.

The charges of an abandoned husband were at times refuted by the allegedly unfaithful wife. In August 1844, Martha Boley countered the assertions made by her husband the previous year and stated that, in truth, he had left her, had refused to return home, and had subsequently been excommunicated from the church. A notice the following spring listed Mrs. Boley as the petitioner in a divorce suit filed with the circuit court.[29] And the estranged wife of John Gribble published the following rebuttal to his claims under the heading "Truth":

> Whereas John Gribble has taken off my bed and board, [and] having had to pay his debts to this date: Notice is hereby given that I will pay no more debts of his contracting.[30]

With the exceptions of Martha Boley and Mrs. Gribble, the evidence, which is admittedly very limited, would seem to indicate that more Mormon women found their circumstances intolerable and chose to seek a new life elsewhere. However, the Boley and Gribble cases could be construed to mean that many males filed false statements in regard to who abandoned the relationship. In any case, it seems clear that most of these Mormon women rejected in practice the standard nineteenth-century common law doctrine of *femme couverte* which stipulated that wives had no legal claim to household property.[31]

By the later Nauvoo period, Mormonism generally had adopted an eternal marriage system as taught by its deceased prophet, Joseph Smith, as the nucleus of its thought on marital relationship. Similarly, prophetic utterances also clarified Mormon positions on gender roles. The Saints' belief in revelation and the importance of rearing a righteous posterity would also dictate much of their perspective on child nurture. Yet, conformity to national norms would also characteristize much of Latter-day Saint thought on this subject.

Just as with gender roles, evangelical Christianity played a leading role in the formulation of antebellum American beliefs on childrearing. In earlier generations the very young were considered to be "stained by the Adamic sin" and generally predestined to eternal damnation, but religious reformers of the post-revolutionary era with their emphasis upon the perfectability of mankind, had reversed such trends. Children of the early national period (1789-1848) were not abandoned to the dark domain of the Devil but instead were offered an intense amount of direction intended to perfect them for Christ.[32]

Mormon thought on child nurture, particularly on the issue of depravity, found guidance within the Book of Mormon. The last religious leader mentioned in the narrative, Moroni, counseled his disciples around 400 A. D., "Little children are whole, for they are not capable of committing sin" (Moroni 8: 8). Consequently, Joseph Smith dismissed the traditional view of children as sinners by announcing that the "power is not given unto Satan to tempt little children."[33] Hence, Mormon children were not burdened with the concept of "original sin," which was said by many to have been the result of Adam's fall.

At the same time, however, Mormon parents could also find in the Book of Mormon just what was expected of the people of God. In the very beginning of the account its principle figure, Nephi, observed that he had been "born of goodly parents" and thus was blessed with a proper spiritual upbringing (1 Nephi 1: 1). The Mormon childrearing directives of the early 1840s indicate that nothing less was expected of the Saints at Nauvoo.

The best summary of Latter-day Saint child nurture expectations from the Nauvoo years can be found in the *Times and Seasons* shortly before the Mormons left Illinois. "Good parents will bring up good children," the newspaper noted, "and good children will exalt themselves to good saints." While most parents of the early American Republic were encouraged to raise children who would benefit the nation, Mormon parents were given loftier goals. Good citizenship and moral character were fine aims, but rearing a child who would one day be prepared to inherit the rewards of the celestial kingdom far exceeded that in the Mormon mind.[34]

It should not be assumed that Mormon parents simply ignored temporal concerns, however. Childrearing directives from the 1830s-on told Latter-day Saint mothers and fathers to see to it that their young were "brought up as ensamples of virtue, of piety, of modesty, and of good breeding."

Mormon children, c. 1849-1850. Courtesy of the Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Mormon poet Eliza Snow. Courtesy of the Church Archives, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Children were to be instructed in proper grooming, manners, and respect to their parents and elders. And this charge was not taken lighty, as the 1832 writings of Reynolds Cahoon indicated. He observed that he had labored with his family "both spiritually and temporaly [sic]" to raise them correctly.[35]

This same concern continued to prevail among the Saints at Nauvoo nearly a decade later. Reflecting upon the need for acceptable behavior among *all* of the Saints, young as well as old, a *Nauvoo Neighbor* editorial of April 1845 urged parents to restrain their children since "nothing bespeaks the good character of a place better than the orderly conduct of small boys. The habit [of] boys running together to play, tends to evil." Parents were, therefore, admonished to keep their offspring at home and make them "work for honor or let them go for disgrace."[36]

But even the most zealous parental efforts did not always succeed. Mormon apostle John Taylor was saddened by what he perceived as a disintegration of piety among Nauvoo's youth. Vices noted by Taylor included smoking and idleness by boys and young men in the city, and a fondness for worldly pursuits among the young ladies—such as reading novels, attending parties, and studying music. It was felt by John Taylor and other Mormon leaders that the time of adolescent females could be better spent in developing useful domestic skills so that they could become good wives one day.[37]

Also speaking out on the theme of domesticity, the Mormon poetess Eliza R. Snow rendered a scathing indictment of Nauvoo's young women and their declining interest in traditional feminine pursuits when she penned "One of Time's Changes" in 1842.

> Some things have changed from what they were
> When all the fairest of the fair;
> Whom Fame has rank'd among the beauties,
> Were skilled in domestic duties.
>
> Our modern misses scarce believe
> That *ladies* us'd to spin and weave:
> Or, that gay Princesses of yore,
> Wrought the rich garment, Princes wore.[38]

In what was evidently a church-backed response to these fearsome developments at Nauvoo, Apostle Heber C. Kimball organized a "Young Gentlemen and Ladies Society" in April 1843. Church leaders and city fathers hoped that this association might act as a remedy for the woes cited above by channeling youthful energy into acceptable pursuits.[39] In this manner, perhaps, the youth of Mormon Nauvoo might be encouraged to seek the kingdom of God rather than the ways of the world.

Just as the Mormon leadership sought to clearly delineate gender roles and marital practices at Nauvoo, they also hoped to circumscribe child-rearing as well. The preparation of a young Saint who was ready to inherit the celestial kingdom of heaven would, ultimately, bring about Mormon

adults who adhered to church teachings and worked to build up the kingdom of God on the earth. Interestingly, although their final goals were often perceived by non-Mormons as being at great variance with those of mid-nineteenth century American society as a whole, the Mormons of Nauvoo often mirrored national values as a means to a very different end.

Following the dictates of their prophet and his associates, who, it was believed, spoke for God, the Saints took the goals of antebellum America a step further. Gender roles were perceived as a divinely-inspired plan for the happiness and success of the Lord's chosen people; eternal marriage was the means to a joyous eternity spent in company with one's spouse; and Mormon child nurture prepared young Saints for the celestial kingdom of heaven. Belief in Joseph Smith's role as a prophet who received revelation from God distinguished Nauvoo Mormons from their fellow Americans while, at the same time, many of the traits which so marked pre-Civil War society in the United States also were characteristic of those Illinois Saints.

NOTES

[1]See 1 Nephi, passim. The doctrine of sealing, as taught by Joseph Smith, reflected the Mormon belief that *only* The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was the legimate claimant to the authority to act in the name of God. Just as a contemporary sect, the Shakers, argued that there was *no* marriage in heaven, the Mormons contended that *only* those marriages sealed by the Latter-day Saint priesthood would hold any validity in the next life. The best scholarly treatments of the subject are Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1981), Chapter IV; and Klaus Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), Chapter 5. Also useful to understanding the practice of sealing in its Nauvoo context is Michael Guy Bishop, "The Celestial Family: Early Mormon Thought on Life and Death, 1830-1846," Ph. D. dissertation, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale, 1981; and Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question," M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981. Although relatively few Nauvoo Mormons enjoyed the privilege of having their marriages sealed in the Nauvoo Temple due to the 1846 persecutions which drove them from the state, the doctrine was publicly taught in the city by Joseph Smith, and the practice would be eagerly engaged in by many of the Saints later in Utah.

[2]The most thorough studies of plural marriage during the pre-1844 period of Mormon history are Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality*, and Danel Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," M. A. thesis, Purdue University, 1975.

[3]See the Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985 ed.), Section 25.

[4]Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly*, 18 (Summer 1966), 152-66 passim.

[5]For perspectives on this issue, see Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, rev. ed. (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1978), especially pp. 33-52 passim; Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), pp. 3-21 passim; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), Chapters, II, III, and IV; Glenda Gates Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditional Image of the American Woman," *The Historian* 32 (February 1970), 217; and Ruth H. Bloch, "American Feminist Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785-1815," *Feminist Studies* 4 (June 1978), 101-03.

[6]Doctrine and Covenants 132: 8.

[7]Janet Zollinger Giele, "Centuries of Womanhood: An Evolutionary Perspective on the Feminine Role," *Woman's Studies*, 1 (1972), 98.

[8]*Elders Journal* [Kirtland, Ohio], 1 (August 1838), 61-2.

[9]See the *Wasp* (Nauvoo, Illinois), 16 April and 30 April 1842.

[10]*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1 (September 6, 1843), 19.

[11]Ibid., 2 (December 25, 1844), 34.

[12]See, for example, Michael Gordon and M. Charles Bernstein, "Mate Choice and Domestic Life in the Nineteenth Century Marriage Manual," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 32 (November 1970), 669-71; Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*, pp. 4-8; William E. Bridges, "Family Patterns and Social Values in America, 1825-1875," *American Quarterly*, 17 (Spring 1965), 3-11; and, although focused primarily upon a later period, Margaret Marsh, "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," *American Quarterly*, 40 (June 1988), 165-71.

[13]*Elders Journal* [Far West, Missouri], 1 (August 1838), 61, italic added.

[14]*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1 (September 6, 1843), 19.

[15]*Wasp*, June 11, 1842.

[16]*Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* [Kirtland, Ohio], I (June 1835), 130. It was, however, not all that unusual in antebellum America to view marriage as an eternal compact. In this regard, see Sidney Herbert Ditzion, *Marriage, Morals, and Sex in America: A History of Ideas*, expanded edition (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), p. 54. As we shall see, it was Mormonism's claim that *only* their priesthood had eternal binding power which was unique.

[17]*History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, By Himself and Apostolic Interregnum*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 7 volumes, 2nd edition revised (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1978) 2: 320. This history was kept largely by Joseph Smith's scribes during his prophetic career and represents a basic source for the study of early Mormonism. For the background of this history, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 11 (Fall 1971), 439-73. On the Knight-Goldthwaite marriage, see also William G. Hartley, *They Are My Friends: A History*

of the Joseph Knight Family 1825-1850 (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1986), pp. 108-12.

[18]See "Marriage Records, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1842-45," Historical Department, Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Archives).

[19]See the *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1 (September 20, 1843), 21.

[20]See "Marriage Records"; Charlotte Haven, "A Girl's Letters from Nauvoo," *The Overland Monthly*, 16 (July-December, 1890), 637.

[21]*Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt: One of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Embracing His Life, Ministry, and Travels, with Extracts, in Prose and Verse, from His Miscellaneous Writings,* edited by Parley P. Pratt [Jr.] (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1938), pp. 297-98.

[22]For quotation, see *History of the Church* 5: 391-92 or Doctrine and Covenants 131: 1-4. Regarding Mormon thought on eternity, see M. Guy Bishop, "To Overcome the 'Last Enemy': Early Mormon Perceptions of Death, "*Brigham Young University Studies*, 26 (Summer 1986), 63-79.

[23]See Frankling Dewey Richards, "Words of the Prophets" (n. d.), LDS Archives.

[24]Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 11 November 1843, LDS Archives; Erastus R. Snow, "Sketchbook, 1818-1847," 90, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[25]On these early sealings, see Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 17, 63-64.

[26]See Samuel Hollister Rogers, Journal, 29 January 1846, LDS Archives; Newel Knight [Jr.], Journal, 2 February 1846, LDS Archives; and Daniel D. McArthur, Autobiography, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

[27]See the *Wasp,* September 3, 1842; the *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1 (September 13, 1843), 20; 1 (November 15, 1843), 29; 1 (November 29, 1843), 31; and 3 (May 14, 1845), 2.

[28]See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 1, (September 13, 1843), 20; and 1 (November 29, 1843), 31.

[29]Ibid., 2 (August 14, 1844), 16; and 2 (March 12, 1845), 45. For Mr. Boley's desertion notice see 1 (October 25, 1843), 76.

[30]Ibid., 3 (May 21, 1845), 3.

[31]See Lois W. Banner, *Women in Modern America: A Brief History* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1974), p. 2; and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 70-71.

[32]For an overview of evangelical childrearing see Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic: The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

[33]Doctrine and Covenants 84; in this regard, see also Sections 12, 18, and 33.

[34]See *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo, Illinois) 6 (March 1, 1845), 830; and, for a more detailed overview, M. Guy Bishop, "Preparing to 'Take the Kingdom': Childrearing Directives in Early Mormonism," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 7 (Fall 1987), 275-90. Most helpful on mid-nineteenth century American attitudes is Wishy, *The Child and the Republic,* 24-33 passim.

[35]*Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio) 1 (July 1835), 154; Reynolds Cahoon, Diary, July 1832, LDS Archives.

[36]*Nauvoo Neighbor,* 2 (April 30, 1845), 52.

[37]See Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1976), p. 86

[38]*Times and Seasons,* 3 (March 1, 1842), 715. These Mormon criticisms of their youth very much reflected earlier complaints leveled at young Americans — particularly the females — by Englishwoman Harriet Martineau in the late 1830s. She observed, with obvious disdain, that middle and upper class young women in the United States were often taught to play piano, sing, and other impractical skills (Harriet Marineau, *Society in America,* 3 vols. [London: Saunders and Otley, 1837], III, 132-33).

[39]Ibid., 4 (April 1, 1843), 154. The *Times and Seasons* was the official church newspaper in Nauvoo and the fact that Kimball's actions were announced therein gives an indication that it represented a plan supported by the Mormon hierarchy.

THE NAUVOO MISSION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1846-1848

Stanley B. Kimball

Several years ago, while I was doing research in the Illinois State Historical Library, I ran across an interesting document which I copied and put away for future reference and for future editing. It was sixteen pages of manuscript minutes of the "Nauvoo Mission" of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Rock River, Illinois Conference for the period December 28, 1846 through January (date missing), 1848.

These minutes are not particularly interesting or informative, but they contain a letter which is, a document which should be edited. This letter is the history of the beginning of the Nauvoo Mission and throws some light on one of the murkiest chapters in early Mormon history, that of the Nauvoo area from the Exodus of 1846, when Brigham Young led the exiled Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) west to the Missouri River, and eventually to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, through the establishment of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1860.[1]

The letter, written by the Mission Secretary, G. G. Worthington, on January 9, 1847, was published in the *Western Christian Advocate* in Cincinnati on January 29, 1847 and reads as follows:

To The Assistant Treasurer of the
Missionary Society of the
Methodist E. Church at
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Brother:

It may not be improper for me to state the reason why my name is connected with this Mission. It will be recollected, that in the list of appointments for the Rock River Conf., published in the Western Christian Advocate in September last, my name stands connected with Knoxville Circuit, by appointment of Bishop Hamlin and this Mission was left to be supplied. Subsequently, at the solicitation of my Presiding Elder Rev. R. Haney,[2] I consented to relinquish the charge of Knoxville Circuit, and take

Photograph of Nauvoo taken in 1846 by an unknown photographer. Courtesy of RLDS Church Library-Archives.

charge of this Mission. I was detained from my work in consequence of a severe attack of the fever, which seized me on my way from conference, from the effects of which I did not recover for several weeks.

I arrived in this city on the 20th October, 1846,[3] with my family, and not succeeding in finding a Methodist family or face, I drove up to the Nauvoo Mansion House[4] formerly occupied by Joseph Smith. After taking some refreshment, I left my family, and set out on foot, in a poor state of health, searching for two families of Methodist named to me by the Presiding Elder. The head of one of the families had just returned from exile, and the other was not at home. I could not describe the feelings of my heart at meeting with these brethren, from considerations not necessary here to mention. But allow me only to remark that the desolated appearance of the "City of the Saints," and the Country around for five miles, at least, beggars all description, and can never be erased from my mind.

The "troubles," war, and strife, were just over, and a remnant of the "regulators"[5] left by the Anti-Mormon party still lingered in the great Mormon Temple, with the mouths of three great guns in the portico of the Temple, looking down upon those remaining in the deserted city.[6] In a few days, the guard and great guns disappeared from the city, and the week following Governor Ford, with his troops, entered, and pitching their camp on the flat, remained there one night, after which they took up their quarters in and around this temple.[7]

Ford's visit to this place with his troops, was to "maintain the supremacy of the law, reinstate the new citizens,[8] and protect them in their rights" who had been driven from their homes by the Anti-Mormons.

Some of these troops remained (say fifty-eight) until the present executive of this state[9] entered upon the duties of his office, when they retired to their homes, leaving our citizens and city, to some extent in peace and quiet.

The Mormons (except those who were by the treaty allowed to stay to dispose of the unsold property and transact the business of the church)[10] are nearly all gone.[11] It is thought there are about fifty others in and about the city — many of them widows, sick and decrepit individuals. I felt it a duty especially enjoining on me, as the Missionary of this benighted and long afflicted portion of God's heritage[12] to dwell upon the historical part of this communication thus far, as I believe the interest of this community, and especially that of Christ's Kingdom, demands it at my hands.

I think we may safely calculate on a gradual improvement from this time forward, in the city and county, in a civil, political, moral and religious point of view. If this should be the case, the population of this city and the country around will greatly increase in the coming spring. There are yet great inducements held out to those who may wish to invest their money, or personal property in homesteads in the city and farms around the same. I suppose from fifty to seventy-five families came into the city, as residents, since my arrival last fall.[13]

I shall now attend to the business properly belonging to or connected with my station, as the Missionary of Nauvoo Mission.

On my arrival in this place (the date above given) I immediately commenced searching out the Methodist, and "visiting from house to house." I found in the hands of brother John Deleplane a paper put in his hands by the Presiding Elder Rev. R. Haney, last July, with twenty names collected and thereon

Lithograph of Nauvoo in 1848, from Henry Lewis, *Das illustrirte Mississippithal.*

written, with instructions to brother Deleplane to meet said brethren in class, and gather into the little band of Methodist, by recording their names on said paper. There brethren had met a few times for prayer and class meetings previous to the final struggle between the Mormons and the anties: and I think brother Williams, now a superannuated preacher of the Rock River Conference, who lived in this city, preached a few times to the little band. A few days after I arrived, it was determined on consultation, to apply for the temple to be occupied by the Missionary the following Sabbath.[14] The request was granted by the Trustees, and the day being favorable, a very respectable congregation attended divine service. I endeavored to improve the hour by speaking from the following words, Isa. 4,7: "Submit yourselves therefore, to God." After preaching, I held a Methodist class meeting in the "Great Temple," and the Lord of Hosts was with us of a truth, for we were together refreshed, and encouraged to gird up our loins, and prepare for the battle. This was the First Methodist Sermon and class meeting ever held in the Mormon Temple. As the troops of Gov. Ford were the next week quartered around the temple, it was thought advisable to remove the services of the following Sabbath to the Musick Hall,[15] in the vicinity of the temple. We did so, and have occupied the Hall every Sabbath since; and I am happy to have it in my power to say the congregations have increased from week to week, and a more orderly, attentive, and respectable looking congregation we have rarely met with in our travels anywhere. Of course you will discover there was not any regular organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church here, as this Mission was last year in the bounds of Carthage Circuit. After gathering in the scattered sheep when and where I could, I organized the M. E. Church in Nauvoo Mission the third week after my arrival by dividing the society whose names stood on my list into two classes, appointed two leaders, also fine stewards, (by nominations), and two prayer meetings in the week at different points in the city. Hence you see we have two services on the Sabbath, two class meetings on the Sabbath, and two prayer meetings during the week; and the best of all is, the Lord has abundantly helped us in coming together. At our class meetings and prayer meetings, I have seen and felt much of the divine power, and often have our dear brethren, and the Missionary and his companion rejoiced together, as in heavenly places in Christ Jesus. This Mission and Carthage Circuit are united in reference to Quarterly Meetings. The first held on the Circuit I did not attend, being sick, and not knowing the time. The second was held at Carthage. I attended on the 26th and 27th, Dec. 1846. The third will be held on the Mission (Nauvoo, 13 & 14 March '47). Our beloved Elder visited our city, and preached his first sermon to this people on the Tuesday evening before New Year. It was his intention to have remained several days and preached to the people, but the weather being very unfavorable, he declined, and left us for his next Quarterly Meeting, some seventy miles distant.

The condition I found this community in, with respect to Morals,[16] and I may say with proprietary many of the little band attended to above, with others who had been Methodist elsewhere and not enrolled here, was truly a deplorable one; but, helped by God's name, many of them have been healed of their backslidings, and are now rejoicing on their way to upper Salem, the Christians home. I have never, in my ministerial career, discovered so clearly the benefits resulting to a community, and the cause of Christ, from a

thorough course of "visiting from house to house," and praying with the people, as I have in this Mission; and he who undertakes this blessed work in his proper character, and prosecutes it faithfully, will share largely in blessings of the divine Spirit. If there is a Missionary field (in the strict sense of the term) on God's green earth, it is in Nauvoo; and this can be made clearly manifest; but I forbear.

I am happy to report to you, and the numerous friends of Zion [? word unclear], that we have two classes at this time, numbering about fifty members, received by certificate and on probation, and between twenty-five and thirty on my visiting list who have been members of the M. E. Church elsewhere, and are here, the most of them, without certificate, and holding off yet. I have, and shall continue to labour with them to come out definitely on the Lord's side, and be Methodist, if they can be happy with us. We have negotiated for the house we have been occupying, the Musick Hall 50 feet by 30 and upwards, a one story brick, finished off and two thirds seated with good seats, on a half acre lot, supposed to have cost 12 or 1500 $ dollars. We have to pay tomorrow morning $50 in hand, and the balance $260 by the first of March, and the title as far as I can learn, will be genuine.[17] It would be an immense drawback on us not to accomplish this object. We have faith to believe we shall, though we may have to seek foreign aid. The people here are destitute of means to a great extent owing to the troubles just over, and those who have come in to purchase property have expended all their means, at least ready cash, and that is what must be forthcoming for the payment of the Hall. It will require very little expense to fit the house complete for our purposes as a good Chapel.

It may be proper for me to remark here that the Methodist Episcopal Chruch is the only religious organization in this city. On my arrival here there was preaching by a Presbyterian Minister Mr. Babbitt, once a fortnight. He left in a few weeks. The Campbellites have held forth a few times, and it has been announced that a Universalist will hold forth the next Lord's day in the Temple.[18]. The stand I have taken here, in view of the distracted state of affairs, and divisions among professors and non professors, is to know no man after the flesh, but "Christ and him Crucified," and thus, by the help of God, allay and calm the troubled and conflicting elements in the midst of which I have been thrown. Our effort has not been in vain, to some extent, and I therefore feel encouraged to persevere in the same even tenor of my way. This being my first report, is unusually long. We trust all who are friendly to Missions will aid us by their fervent prayers, that Nauvoo may become as notorious for mortality and piety as it has been for wickedness and blasphemy. I remain dear brother your unaltered friend, and fellow labourer in the bonds of a peaceful Gospel.

G. G. Worthington,
Missionary

Nauvoo Mission
Rock River Conf.
Jan. 9th, 1847

This is the end of Worthington's historical report. One is grateful for it and can only regret it is not longer, giving more information about this little known period in Nauvoo history.[19]

Fortunately the minutes to which this report is appended do add a bit to our understanding. The minutes of the quarterly meeting of May 1, 1847 reveal that a "branch of the sabbath school will be held in the Seventy (sic) Hall on the flat for the accommodation of the citizens and there is prospect of from 150 to 200 attending." The Seventies Hall was located on Parley Street near the intersection with Bain Street. The expression "on the flat" means it was located on the flood plain and not on higher ground where the temple was built. This second sabbath school lasted only six months for the minutes of Nov. 8, 1847 recorded that "School No. 2 on the flat has been discontinued in consequence of the house being purchased by the Roman Catholics." Later this building was reduced to one story and used as a school, eventually it was razed. Today, as part of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., the old hall has been completely restored to its original appearance.

I have discovered one other reference to the M.E. Church and the Mormons in mid 19th century Nauvoo. According to the *Warsaw Signal* of March 25, 1848 the M.E. Church "investigated the purchase of the temple for literary purposes." Nothing came of this or other attempts by the Mormons to sell the temple. By the following October there was nothing to sell for on the night of October 9 an arsonist burned it to the ground.

The struggling and seriously underfunded M.E. Church persisted however, acquired some land at the corner of Mulholland Street and Fulmer Street in 1849, and in 1853 built a small church out of native limestone and what appear to have been Nauvoo temple stones. It exists today as the American Legion Hall. In 1904 the congregation sold the original church and moved to the corner of Ripley and Green Streets. The church at that site today was erected in 1913.

NOTES

[1]In the archives of the Central Illinois Conference of the United Methodist Church in Bloomington, Illinois are other documents pertaining to this mission, the most important one being what is apparently the remainder of the minutes (up to 1858) located in the Illinois State Historical Society. Unfortunately none of these documents refer in any way to the Mormons.

[2]This was Richard Haney, brother of the Rev. William Haney who on December 27, 1847 married Emma Smith, widow of Joseph Smith, to Capt. Lewis C. Bidamon in Nauvoo. Both Emma and Lewis had been raised Methodists and, although it was reported that Emma joined the Methodist Church in Nauvoo (Journal History, January 31, 1848, Mormon Church Archives), she did not formally do so.

[3]The date of Worthington's arrival was less than five weeks after the "Battle of Nauvoo" or the "Nauvoo War" of Sept. 10-16. Most Mormons had quit Nauvoo the

previous spring and summer as per their agreement with the anti-Mormon forces in Hancock County, Illinois, but several hundred "poor saints" still remained in Nauvoo and the Nauvoo Temple stood. Anti-Mormons feared the Mormons would return and determined to drive those remaining out. To this end Thomas S. Brockman led about 800 men (sometimes called the Carthage Guerrillas) with six, six pound cannons from Carthage, the county seat, to literally drive the Mormons out. During Sept. 10-12 there was firing on both sides; on the 13th the mob advanced, and Nauvoo surrendered on the 16th, the terms being arranged by the "Quincy Committee." Thereafter only a handful of Mormons were left in the area.

On Sept. 17 Brockman's forces entered the city, made camp, and took possession of the temple as their headquarters. Some troops remained here until at least December 12, causing much damage, vandalism, and contrived desecration. It was the cold which partially drove them out.

[4]This is a reference to the home and hotel Joseph Smith built for his family and for guests. After his death it was owned and operated by Emma, his wife. Emma, however, was not at the mansion when Worthington took his "refreshments" on Oct. 20. She and her children had fled Nauvoo on Sept. 12 during the "Nauvoo War." She went up the Mississippi River about 189 miles to Fulton where she remained until the following February. In her absence Abram Van Tuyl leased the mansion house from Emma. (He cheated her and she arrived back just in time to prevent him from stealing all her furniture.)

[5]A name given to the occupying troops left by Brockman.

[6]These were three of Brockman's six pound cannons.

[7]Governor Thomas Ford and his troops arrived in Nauvoo on Oct. 28, took up headquarters in the temple on the 29th and remained there until Nov. 14 when he left to return to Springfield leaving some troops in Nauvoo.

[8]Non-Mormons who moved into Nauvoo after the Mormons left.

[9]This is a reference to Governor Augustus C. French who withdrew all troops during December.

[10]The Trustees of the Mormon Church were Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph Heywood, and John S. Fullmer.

[11]By this time most of the "poor saints" who had been left behind in Nauvoo had been moved west by relief companies sent from the Missouri River settlements.

[12]This is probably an indication of Worthington's negative opinions of Mormons in general; it might also reflect his attitude regarding the fact the Methodist Church had been, and still was, so week in that area.

[13]Many non-Mormon "New Citizens" did move into Nauvoo, taking full advantage of the Mormons having to sell their property for what people were willing to pay.

[14]This is a rare reference to the use of the Mormon temple before it burned in November, 1848.

[15]One of the few public buildings in Mormon Nauvoo; it was located one block of the temple at the corner of Young and Woodruff Streets.

[16]This may be a reference to the Mormon practice of polygamy, river low life, and/or the moral condition of his own flock.

[17]The records of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. reveal that the Music Hall was purchased for $310.00 on Feb. 6, 1847. The difference between the price paid and the reputed value of $1,200 to $1,500 is good evidence of the depressed value of Mormon property at that time, after The Exodus of 1846.

[18]This is a revealing comment on the religious life in Nauvoo after the Mormons left and evidence that the Mormon trustees were anxious to rent the temple to responsible parties to raise money.

[19]Worthington did write at least one more letter to the *Western Christian Advocate*. Dated April 23, 1847, it was printed May 14, 1847 and told how the Nauvoo Mission was "struggling for the prosperity of Zion here," how "we wish to make known some of our wants," and how the mission "needed books."

THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITY: JOSEPH SMITH III AND THE NAUVOO EXPERIENCE

Roger D. Launius

For the inheritors of the legacy of early Mormonism, Nauvoo and the activities that took place there hold a special place. Of the more than 50 organizations arising out of Mormonism currently in operation, nearly all draw important lessons in the form of analogies about their church's organization, doctrine, and *Weltanshauung* from the Nauvoo experience between 1839 and 1846.[1] Robert Bruce Flanders remarked in 1973 that "Utah began in Nauvoo, as did the 'dissenting' sects of Mormonism such as the Reorganized Church in a different way." He added that "Nauvoo was a volatile mixture of elements — American patriotism, immigrant dreams of the promised land, displaced-person desperation, religious mysticism and fanaticism, free experimentation with new social, ethical, and politico-economic modes, optimism, opportunism, energy — and escalating violence within and without."[2] Whether those lessons be positive or negative in conclusion matter not, the compelling factor of seeking an order from the experience makes the issue worth exploring.[3]

An individual heading one of the factions of the church emerging after the death of the Mormon prophet on 27 June 1844, was Joseph Smith III, the eldest son of the church's founder.[4] Although only a boy of 11-years at the time of his father's death, by 1860 Smith had been ordained president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, an organization composed of individuals of moderate Mormon tendencies and in time the second-largest faction of the splintered Mormon movement.[5] He presided over that church until his death in 1914, establishing it as a viable and positive force within the Christian mainstream. Smith grew to manhood in Nauvoo, he witnessed many of the events taking place there during his father's reign firsthand, and he drew important conclusions about the meaning of the Mormon stronghold on the Mississippi for the church's future development. These conclusions were applied in his presidential activities with the Reorganized Church and affected, perhaps fundamentally, the direction of that movement.[6]

It is the contention of this study that the Nauvoo experience represented a conflicting set of ideals for Joseph Smith III. It was both a triumph and a tragedy, the lessons of which Smith applied throughout his career. He was attracted to the success and image of the city; it was the closest approximation the church had to the ideals of zion carried in scripture and doctrine. The political power and secular authority also served Smith as reminders of the ultimate goal of the church, the merging of church and state into a benevolent theocratic-democracy. At the same time, Smith was repelled by the darker side of political power — corruption, influence-peddling, and the hardness of political choices. Much the same was true when considering the other aspects of the Nauvoo experience in such realms as the development of theology, the growth and development of church institutions and ecclesiastical quorums, the treatment of individuals toward others both in terms of group loyalty and dissident elements, and the promotion of peace versus the warrior mentality. Each of the reactions contributed toward the formation of Smith's style of leadership in the Reorganized Church. And while these factors were not the sole contributors to his method of presidential leadership, they were important ingredients in the development of Smith's approach toward problems.[7]

One indicator of Joseph Smith III's reaction to the events of the Nauvoo years was his cautious and deliberate approach toward community-building in the early Reorganization.[8] The establishment of what the Saints referred to as Zion had been the most persistent goal of the early Mormon movement. The early Latter Day Saints believed they were commissioned from among the world to help usher in the triumphal Second Coming of Christ and the advent of the millennial reign by building a community from which Christ could rule the world. Accordingly, during the 1830s and 1840s they had established Mormon communities to serve as utopian centers, places that were a refuge from a world in sin and where they could foster a new, righteous social order that would be ready for the return of the Lord. Settlements at Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence and Far West, Missouri, however, were less than successful and eventually dissolved in failure and disillusionment.[9]

The community of Saints at Nauvoo, nevertheless, followed on the heels of these earlier efforts with little change in approach except insofar as it related to the scale of the experiment. Indeed, Nauvoo represented the height of the church's standing in the secular world. In terms of size and importance Nauvoo during the Saints' heyday was the epitome of the Mormon kingdom, the forerunner of the zionic/utopian mission of the church. Without question, the community was the fullest expression of the Mormon ideal of the literal Kingdom of God with towns, organizations, and governments. It represented the most thorough model, thought the Saints, of what the millenium would be like.

Nauvoo, unfortunately, met a fate similar to earlier Mormon communities because it was perceived as a political, economic, and military

Painting of Joseph Smith III, c. 1860. Courtesy of the RLDS Church Library-Archives.

threat to settlers in neighboring communities. Many reasons for this conclusion on the part of outsiders are apparent from a review of the records. One example should suffice. Benjamin F. Morris was the minister of the Congregational Church in Warsaw, Illinois, during the early 1840s and offered this assessment of the Mormon situation in Hancock County on 15 August 1843:

> In regards to the County, the prospects for successful labor in the moral fields is indeed dark and forbidding enough. The frogs of egypt are utterly covering the whole land. The Mormons now have all the power, elect whom they please and have taken the entire government of the County into their own hands. This election they got all but one or two petty offices. They are still increasing and will do so. They are insolent lawless, and unchecked . . . The result of all this is to unsettle every thing pertaining to education and true religion. People are disposed to go out of the county as soon as they can. They are now under pretty high pressure of excitement, and I expect the scenes of Mo. to be acted over again.[10]

Eventually the non-Mormons of Hancock County rose up against the Saints at Nauvoo. In spite of the political, economic, and military might of the Mormons, less than a year after Morris' commentary their prophet had been killed and by 1846 anti-Mormons had destroyed Nauvoo's viability as a church stronghold, and forced its Mormon inhabitants to leave Hancock County.[11]

Joseph Smith III never directly commented on the failure of Nauvoo as a utopian experiment, but some of his statements alluded to the negative reaction it held for him. Moreover, his actions as president clearly demonstrated his use of the fate of Nauvoo as an analogy for later Reorganized Church policy concerning community-building endeavors. When Smith assumed leadership over the Reorganized Church, his followers believed that he would begin the long-anticipated regathering of the Saints for the building of another zionic community. But because of the young president's background, his perceptions of the movement's zionic mission, and his essentially practical nature, Smith disappointed most of his followers.

While convinced that his father's basic approach toward organizing utopian communities was correct, Smith realized that the early Mormons had tried to accomplish too much too quickly. He believed that neither the early church members nor the non-Mormons of Hancock County had been sufficiently prepared to overcome their fundamentally selfish human nature and accept an all-sharing utopian lifestyle: the Saints had lacked both the mutual respect necessary for a communitarian society as well as the personal piety and desire for perfection crucial to the successful establishment of such a Christian utopia; non-Mormons did not understand the significance of such a society and mistook the theocratic-democratic ideal for pure political takeover.[12]

Joseph Smith III believed that the Reorganization's community-building effort should be more liberal and all-encompassing than it had been during

the Nauvoo period. He maintained that the millennial kingdom of God could only be initiated through personal righteousness and moral perfection, and would reach full fruition only if the righteous attacked evil in society at large. In contrast to the Nauvoo approach toward Zion which sought to *remove* the Saints from secular society, Smith's emphasis called for the church to be *involved* in the affairs of the world with the hope that they would assist in changing it. Young Joseph's hope that the Saints would purify themselves and become moral crusaders in the world, therefore, represented a subtle alteration of his father's policies as implemented in Nauvoo. The logical conclusion of Joseph Smith III's philosophy was an emphasis on Zion's spiritual nature rather than its physical, community-building aspects.[13]

Smith summarized his basic approach toward church-sponsored communities in an editorial in the Reorganization's newspaper, the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* in 1865. He wrote, "The church should begin to take a high moral ground in regard to the very many abuses in society, which can only be reached, to correction, by a strong setting upon them of the current of public opinion."[14] Smith repeatedly stated, as in one of his earliest epistles to the Saints in November 1860, that he would deemphasize the gathering of the Saints into one community as had been done at Nauvoo. "There is no command to gather," he wrote, "at any given locality." Before any gathering could take place, he continued, "there are many obstacles to be met by us, which are to be overcome, not the least of which is . . . prejudice."[15] He counseled the Saints to live righteously wherever they resided and to serve as a force for good in their communities.[16]

Even as Smith was developing this approach toward the issue of zionic community, in part in reaction to the analogy provided by the Nauvoo sojourn, his followers were pressing ever more passionately for the establishment of a church community. Smith parried these efforts for several years with arguments that the Saints were not morally prepared for the effort and that any such community-building experiment would end in failure as had Nauvoo. "Strife and contention, with disobedience," he chided in 1868, "are sure fruit that the gospel, with great witness, had not wrought in us the work of peace, and without peace in our heart we predict that *no perfectness will come in Zion."* He claimed that only when the Saints cease "evil of any and every kind, become champions of truth, there will be no want of definite action of policy" in establishing a church community.[17]

About 1870 Smith acquiesced in the establishment of a zionic community where members of the Reorganized Church could practice their unique community beliefs. He was never particularly excited by this effort, and at best was involved to ensure that the effort did not go awry. Indicative of his caution and hesitancy in this effort, in contrast to his father's "God will provide regardless" approach in founding Nauvoo, was the much more tentative activities associated with the Order of Enoch and

the founding of Lamoni, Iowa. The organization founding Lamoni was not officially sponsored by the church, it was a joint-stock company which shed most of the millennial overtones of earlier Mormon community efforts, and it had established and managed the Lamoni experiment for more than ten years before Joseph Smith III moved there.

Smith, moreover, never viewed Lamoni as the penultimate in church zionic endeavor. At best, he understood it as a small step in the moral perfection of the Saints, an example to non-members, and a tiny experience in the attainment of understanding about the zionic mission of the church. The establishment of Zion, he believed, could not be accomplished in one fell swoop, as his father had attempted in Nauvoo, but rather in a series of halting steps aimed at spiritual development and right relationships one with another. The effort would take years, perhaps even centuries, but the Saints should be content with small advances and not long for the spectacular. Nauvoo had failed because no one was prepared for its promise and all made too many mistakes. Too much hope had been attached to it. Smith did not allow the Reorganization to repeat the community-building mistakes of Nauvoo.[18]

Along similar lines, Smith considered two of the most important problems with the Nauvoo experiment of his father to be the church's involvement in political matters and military affairs. Although he undoubtedly understood that political involvement was inextricably related to the establishment of any church community, he sought to mitigate any negative effects block voting and other partisan activities on the part of his followers might engender. Unlike his father, and principally because of the lessons of Nauvoo, Smith refused to endorse candidates, make political speeches for or against anything but accepted moral issues, and refrained from discussing political parties and candidates in any public forum. He wrote in the church newspaper in 1876 that "no subject is of less importance to the Saints than politics."[19] His approach was aimed at avoiding the needless excitement of the types of mobs that had killed his father and ruined the Nauvoo community. Caution was his emphasis, seeking to demonstrate a bipartisan spirit and an apolitical posture. While not always successful, Smith nevertheless ensured that political questions did not excite outside interests to violence as had been the case in Nauvoo.[20]

Smith also drew lessons about military issues from his Nauvoo experiences. The early Mormons had created a 5,000-man militia force known as the Nauvoo Legion which had been most successful in terrifying other residents of Hancock County in the mid-1840s. Whether the Legion was a viable military organization is a moot question, that the Saints were serious about using it as a means of defending themselves and were diligent in training and equipping it cannot be denied. Thomas C. Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal,* formed his first really negative impressions of the Saints when invited to Nauvoo on 6 April 1841 for the laying of the cornerstones of the Nauvoo Temple and the commemoration of the

eleventh anniversary of the organization of the church. The military power exhibited on that occasion repelled Sharp, who went back to Warsaw with the impression that the Mormons were a warmongering horde which would decimate the county.[21]

As a small boy Joseph Smith III participated in the children's unit of the Legion, enjoying the practices of martial tactics with wooden swords and toy rifles. At its height there were some 500 boys in this unit, and they were a prominent part of the public ceremonies of Mormon Nauvoo, leading parades and other festivities. Smith said that he benefited from the experience of participating in this unit, but that some questioned the apparent love of war demonstrated by the prominent place of the Nauvoo Legion and its children's counterpart in Nauvoo.

Emma Smith, Joseph's mother, for one, opposed this militarism and encouraged her son to withdraw from the boys' troop. Joseph Smith III did so, acknowledging the suzerainty of his mother, but not without mixed feelings because of the friendships he had created in it. In later years, however, Smith came to understand his mother's concern, not just for himself but for the entire military aspect of Nauvoo society. "Looking back along the pathway," he wrote in his memoirs, "I feel it was a pity that such a [martial] spirit crept in among them, however, and a still greater one that the leading minds of the church partook of it."[22] He recognized that this approach was detrimental both to the spiritual welfare of the Saints and to the perceptions of the church by outsiders. He tried to maintain a flexibility in all issues relating to the military and adopt a practical position that was both legitimate and responsive to the biblical dictum "Thou Shalt Not Kill."[23]

Joseph Smith III essentially rejected the standard Mormon idea of a political kingdom of God brought about by a unification of church and state in the here and now through the creation of a religious commonwealth. He stressed that whenever people of like mind gathered in one location the potential for controversy increased. As the head of a small and not well-respected religious organization, Smith sought harmony and order. He recognized, as few others of his movement did, that unlike that portion of the church which followed Brigham Young to the refuge of the Great Basin, the Reorganized Church lived in the middle of the United States. It had to conform, to appear to outsiders to fit the accepted notions of what a Christian church should be. It had to do so both for its own identity apart from the Utah Mormons and to ensure that it did not experience a repeat of the problems associated with Nauvoo and other Mormon communities.[24] The Utah Saints, ensconced in their Rocky Mountain hideaway, were able to defer an accommodation with the larger American society until near the turn of the twentieth century.[25] Joseph Smith III had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to do likewise, and he rejected the patently secular aspects — the political, economic, and military power — of Mormon society as expressed in Nauvoo. The result was a moderate and much more accommodating social policy on the part

of the Reorganization — a position that has remained until the present.[26]

From a theological perspective, the Reorganized Church under Joseph Smith III's leadership essentially rejected the ideas that were developed and promulgated in Mormon Nauvoo. I do not want to spend much time on this subject since there are excellent commentaries available elsewhere, but it should be noted that the theological thinking of the Mormon divines evolved between 1830 and 1844 from a doctrinal position of relative simplicity to one of incredible sophistication. The Nauvoo period was the most fertile time for the development of Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, doctrinal ideas, at least it was the time in which his most esoteric speculations were publicly stated. During that era the unique ideas of eternity, the multiplicity of gods, the possibility of progression to godhood, celestial and plural marriage, baptism for the dead, and other ideas associated with Mormon temple endowments all came to fruition.[27] Some of these ideas were well outside the mainstream of normal American religious thought. A few of them were simply considered quaint by non-Mormons; others, such as plural marriage, aroused volatile emotions and became rallying points for opposition to the movement.

Joseph Smith III questioned the validity of some of these doctrines and recognized the difficulties they presented for the church both in terms of theological compatibility and external pressure. During his presidency, therefore, Smith steered the Reorganization down a middle path that emulated the early Mormon movement's theology and policy accepted during the Kirtland era of the mid-1830s. He took a variety of paths and a number of years to accomplish his task, but over a period of time, with the skill of a master politician, Smith directed the church into the formal adoption of his moderate doctrinal beliefs. Smith's opposition to plural marriage has been well-documented, but that opposition represented only the tip of the iceberg. He loathed the temple concept of the Mormons as developed in Nauvoo and sought to discourage the creation of a *temple cultus* in the Reorganization, although the impetus for one existed during his early presidency. He believed and publicly called temple endowment ceremonies "priestcraft" of the worst order. "I would not value going through the temple a dollar's worth," he wrote to L. L. Barth in 1893, "I cannot see anything sacred or divine in it." More than that, he thought that it had become an obsession in Nauvoo, distracting the members and detracting from the goals of the church.[28] It never became a part of the Reorganized Church.

One final point regarding Smith's reaction to the Nauvoo experience. Smith was by temperament and inclination a person who took a legalistic perspective on issues. This approach held the potential for him to seek to draw power to himself and to wield it arbitrarily, as his father had done, especially in Nauvoo. Joseph Smith III trained himself to be patient and tolerant, and to make practical decisions based upon solid evidence. He exercised care and restraint throughout his presidential career both in dealing with individuals and rendering decisions affecting his religious

Joseph Smith III, c. 1885. Courtesy of the RLDS Church Library-Archives.

movement. He was always open to the opinions of others although he understood and accepted responsibility for his own actions.[29] Richard P. Howard correctly observed that "This notable blend of courage and humility enabled Joseph III to promote the policy of 'an open pulpit' wherever the RLDS church existed." In both a figurative and literal sense, the open pulpit ideal served the Reorganized Church well in allowing it to take a place in the American Christian community.[30]

While other factors certainly contributed, Joseph Smith III took this approach partly because of his remembrance of Nauvoo and the events that had taken place there. He associated those unique doctrinal developments with negative images. Probably they also rested somewhat with his reactions to the events in Nauvoo immediately after the death of his father in 1844. Brigham Young and Smith's mother represented opposing positions on these doctrinal issues. Young embraced the unique theological speculations of Smith and incorporated them into the Mormon movement that settled in Utah. Emma Smith never fully accepted them, especially plural marriage, even if she may have occasionally participated in some of the rituals associated with them while her husband was still alive.[31]

After Joseph Smith, Jr.'s, murder, the two clashed over several issues, one of them the doctrinal direction of the church. A battle of wits ensued, and the Smith family, at least in its collective remembrance, suffered enormously at the hands of Brigham Young and his associates. Because of the negative connotations Joseph Smith III associated with this episode in Nauvoo, because Young and his followers were proponents of these doctrinal ideas, and because his mother taught him the horrors of these conceptions, the reaction of the Reorganized Church prophet could be predicted. [32] Much the same can be argued for Smith's reaction to the Nauvoo issues associated with secular authority and the use of ecclesiastical power. I do not want to make too much of this, but the possibilities of interpreting Smith's basic approach toward the Nauvoo experience as a reaction against Brigham Young and his leadership style after June 1844 offers intriguing possibilities. This is only a preliminary assessment and much additional research remains to be conducted before any authoritative assessment can be rendered.

Even so, it seems likely that many of the themes of Joseph Smith III's career were born out of the images, most of which were negative, of the Nauvoo experience. Guided by both principle and practicality, Smith directed the Reorganization's missionary activities, its ministerial and administrative functions, as well as its organizational apparatus, in a way that was both reasonable and far-sighted for more than 50 years. Joseph Smith III forged a dynamic, moderate, and active organization which always viewed the earlier activities in Nauvoo with skepticism.

Most of the themes present in Smith's presidential career have some background in the Nauvoo he remembered from the 1840s. His inaugural address, given when he accepted leadership of the Reorganized Church on

6 April 1860, encapsulated most of the central ideas of his presidency and the attitudes he had adopted from his youthful experiences.[33] On that occasion Smith explained his position and beliefs regarding the gospel. He commented on his personal beliefs about controversial religious doctrines adopted by some Mormon factions. He denounced the practice of plural marriage which had been adopted by Brigham Young's movement as well as by some other Restoration-oriented organizations. He declared unequivocably that those involved in it were doing so without divine authority. Indeed, God explicity opposed these practices, Smith concluded. "I believe in the doctrine of honesty and truth," he added. "The Bible contains such truth, and so do the Book of Mormon and the Book of Covenants, which are auxiliaries to the Bible." Smith rejected the unique doctrinal ideas arising in the 1840s.

Furthermore, Smith denied the temporal nature of Nauvoo as a community by reaffirming his commitment to the government of the United States and contending that the church was subservient to civil authority. There can be no antagonism between the two, he continued, no attempts to supplant civil with religious authority. He explicitly commented on his commitment to legal institutions, both civil and spiritual. This framework of legalism guided Smith in every decision, enabling him to separate, at least in his own mind, right from wrong. It structured his principles and guided his actions. He also demonstrated in his address a strong commitment to the principles of the Restoration gospel as he understood them based upon his background and principles. He particularly embraced the distinctives of the Book of Mormon, the continuing revelation of God through His chosen agent both in a written and oral sense, and the quest for a righteous community. Furthermore, he showed his remarkable humility, forbearance, and tolerance of others, tempering his legalistic frame of reference.

With issues of all types Smith carefully considered all ramifications and took actions that could be considered compromises in many cases. Almost instinctively, Smith inclined to a middle-of-the-road position on issues. And such a leader was critical to the continued success of what had begun as a loosely organized, extremely heterogeneous movement started by striking nonconformist dissenters of the early church. As one of the ingredients into the manner in which Joseph Smith III conducted his presidential office in the Reorganized Church between 1860 and 1914, his reactions to the development of the church during the earlier Nauvoo sojourn cannot be overlooked.

NOTES

[1]The principal booklength study on Mormon Nauvoo is Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

[2]Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement:*

Essays in Mormon History (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 141-66, quotes from pp. 145 and 165.

[3]An excellent source discussing the uses of history in drawing analogies and lessons is Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

[4]For information on the life of Joseph Smith III see, Roger D. Launius, *Joseph Smith III: Pragmatic Project* (Urban: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[5]The moderate nature of the Reorganization is explained in Alma R. Blair, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormons," in McKiernan, Blair, and Edwards, *The Restoration Movement*, pp. 207-30.

[6]The effect of childhood experiences on the actions of adults has been discussed and debated for half a century with little consensus. A strong school of historiography has emerged which present compelling arguments for believing that past events affect significantly adult actions. See, for discussions of this issue, Lloyd deMause, ed., *The New Psychohistory* (New York: The Psychohistory Press, 1975); Peter Gay, *Freud for Historians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Phyllis Greenacre, *The Quest for a Father: A Study of the Darwin-Butler Controversy, as a Contribution to the Understanding of the Creative Individual* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); George M. Kren and Leon H. Rappoport, eds., *Varieties of Psychohistory* (New York: Spring Publishing Co., 1976); William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *American Historical Review*, 63 (January 1958), 283-304; Howard Dwight Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1948); Benjamin B. Wolman, ed., *The Psychological Interpretation of History* (New York: Basic Books, 1971). One should also see the pathbreaking *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory* as the best means of gaining a feel for the scholarly output of the field.

[7]Many of the ideas in this article have been presented in earlier work. Some of these include, Blair, "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," pp. 207-30; Richard P. Howard, "The Reorganized Church in Illinois, 1852-1882: Search for Identity," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 5 (Spring 1970), 63-75; W. Grant McMurray, "The Reorganization in Nineteenth-Century America: Identity Crisis or Historiographical Problem," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 2 (1982), 3-11; Richard P. Howard, "The Emerging RLDS Identity," in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies III* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1986), pp. 44-53.

[8]For a discussion of Smith's community-building ideas see, Launius, *Joseph Smith III*, pp. 168-89.

[9]The best published analysis of Mormonism's zionic commitment is Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Co., 1976).

[10]Roger D. Launius, "American Home Missionary Society Letters and Mormon Nauvoo: Selected Letters," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, 8 (Spring 1985), 16-45, quote from p. 26.

[11]For an analysis of this development see, Annette P. Hampshire, "The Triumph of Mobocracy in Hancock County, 1844-1846," *Western Illinois Regional Studies,* 5 (Fall 1982), 17-35.

[12]Joseph Smith III to J. J. Pressley, 31 March 1880, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #3, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, MO; "The Location of Zion," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* 38 (26 September 1891), 616.

[13]Joseph Smith III to Alfred Hart, 9 May 1880, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #3; Joseph Smith III to William H. Kelley, 22 March 1871, William H. Kelley Papers, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

[14]*True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* 8 (1 September 1865), 67.

[15]Joseph Smith III, "An Address to the Saints," *True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* 1 (November 1860), 254-56.

[16]This whole approach toward the communal approach of early Mormonism was anticipated by William Marks in 1839 when a church conference debated the establishment of Nauvoo as a gathering point. Marks commented that "from the circumstances of being driven from the other places, he almost was led to the conclusion that it was not wisdom that we should not do so," Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* B. H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Co., 1976 ed.), 3:260. Marks, of course, was an early member of the Reorganized Church and served as Joseph Smith III's counselor in the First Presidency between 1863 and his death in 1872.

[17]Joseph Smith III, "Pleasant Chat," *ibid.,* 13 (1 June 1868), 168-69.

[18]Roger D. Launius, "The Mormon Quest for a Perfect Society at Lamoni, Iowa, 1870-1890," *Annals of Iowa,* 47 (Spring 1984), 325-42.

[19]Joseph Smith III, "Editorial," *Saints' Herald,* 23 (15 November 1876), 262.

[20]The difficulties associated with avoiding secular issues once a church community has started are analyzed in Alma R. Blair, "A Loss of Nerve," *Courage: A Journal of History, Thought, and Action,* 1 (September 1970), 29-36. Blair argued persuasively "that although the early Reorganized Latter Day Saints were not always conscious of it, and would certainly have denied it, they were in fact a very 'political' group. The reason they were is simple: Certain values they held important enough to act on were also of concern to others outside the church" (p. 34).

[21]Norton Jacobs, "Record of Norton Jacobs," 6 April 1841, Mormon Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1977), pp. 288-89.

[22]Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *Saints' Herald,* 82 (1 January 1935), 15-16; Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* (Davis City, IA), February 1890.

[23]Launius, *Joseph Smith III,* pp. 134-35.

[24]This approach has been convincingly explained in Claire D. Vlahos, "Images of Orthodoxy: Self Identity in Early Reorganized Apologetics," in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies I* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1980), 176-86.

[25]Klaus G. Hansen, "Mormonism and American Culture: Some Tentative Hypotheses," in McKiernan, Blair, and Edwards, *The Restoration Movement*, pp. 1-25, especially pp. 2-3; Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urban: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

[26]The mainstream approach of the Reorganized Church down to the present can be glimpsed by reviewing such representative books as Peter Judd and A. Bruce Lindgren, *Introduction to the Saints Church* (Indepence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1976), and Clifford A. Cole and Peter Judd, *Distinctives: Yesterday and Today* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1984).

[27]The literature on many of the theological developments in Nauvoo is extensive. For general introductions see, T. Edgar Lyon, "Doctrinal Development of the Church During the Nauvoo Sojourn, 1839-1846," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 15 (Summer 1975), 435-46; Marvin S. Hill, "Mormon Religion in Nauvoo: Some Reflections," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 44 (Spring 1976), 170-80.

[28]Joseph Smith III to L. L. Barth, 26 May 1893, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #4, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

[29]This aspect of Smith's character is ably discussed in Clare D. Vlahos, "Moderation as a Theological Principle in the Thought of Joseph Smith III," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 1 (1981), 3-11.

[30]Howard, "Emerging RLDS Identity," p. 50.

[31]For discussions of Emma Smith's response to theological developments in Nauvoo see, Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1984), Linda King Newell, "Emma Hale Smith and the Polygamy Question, *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*, 4 (1984), 3-15; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Linda King Newell, and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Emma, Eliza, and the Stairs: An Investigation," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 20 (Winter 1980), 51-62.

[32]A discussion of this period can be found in Roger D. Launius, "Joseph Smith III and the Mormon Succession Crisis, 1844-1846," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, 6 (Spring 1983), 5-22. The general relationship between Emma Smith and Brigham Young is deftly analyzed in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "The Lion and the Lady: Brigham Young and Emma Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 48 (Winter 1980), 81-97.

[33]The speech of Joseph Smith III is most conveniently available in Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1973 ed.)., 3:247-50. I have verified it against the original publication appearing in *New York Times*, 11 April 1860.

RECENT WRITING ON MORMON NAUVOO

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Anniversaries are times of celebration — and times for reflection. No doubt with the Nauvoo Sesquicentennial upon us, presumably to stay for a seven-year cycle, 1989-96, we will see both hoopla and cogitation as part of the commemoration. Certainly we can expect some gatherings at the city on the Mississippi to dedicate newly restored historic buildings and to visit others previously opened for visitors. The Mormon History Association is holding its annual spring meeting at Quincy, with visits to Nauvoo. Countless carloads of tourists will take advantage of orientations and tours offered at visitors centers and sites maintained by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City) and The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Independence). No doubt, LDS and RLDS leaders and members and other friends of Mormon history will be celebrating with well-publicized pageants, memorials, and exhibits; conferences, lectures, and sermons; picture-essays, newspaper and magazine features, and perhaps even a few souvenirs. Predictably, as well, just as they have been doing for most of the 150 years since Joseph Smith declared Commerce a fit site for a Mormon gathering place, historians interested in old Nauvoo will continue to study and write in order to better understand that intriguing part of Illinois's past. Their efforts of the past ten years are the subject of this reflection.

What historians recently have been doing — and not doing — in Nauvoo history is a mirror of the larger effort in Mormon studies. For a good while many of them were attracted (some would say distracted) by new evidence and new interests in the founding years of Mormonism in New York. Some stayed with personal research interests in other times and places. Still others followed national historical trends pointing to the importance of studies of women, ethnic groups, demography, and social history. All of this has been good for an understanding of Nauvoo. Many specialized studies have appeared, making easier the anticipated syntheses. In short, the fountain of scholarship in the decade and more since 1978 has issued forth with nearly two hundred fifty new titles from which the student of Mormon Nauvoo can drink deeply.

While there have been significant books and theses, much of the groundwork continues to be plowed in scholarly articles. They have appeared regularly in *Brigham Young University Studies* (cited hereafter as *BYU Studies*) and in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought (Dialogue).* Others will be found in the annual *Journal of Mormon History (JMH)* of the Mormon History Association and the new, since 1981, *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal (JWHAJ),* which reflects RLDS interests. Another journal with an ongoing interest in Nauvoo is *Western Illinois Regional Studies (WIRS).* Occasionally something of interest appears in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (JISHS),* or in other quarterlies.

I. THE HISTORICAL ENTERPRISE

Bibliography and Historiography: Writing about Nauvoo and engaging in other activities to preserve and understand the town's early history have been energetically pursued in the decade since Richard D. Poll summarized the work of historians up to mid-1978. His essay, "Nauvoo and the New Mormon History: A Bibliographical Survey," *JMH* 5 (1978): 105-23, concentrates on the work of the "New Mormon History," but identifies the classics of previous years. In anticipation of a renewed outpouring of interpretive works about Nauvoo for the sesquicentennial, now seems an appropriate time to see where we have come since Poll's survey and where we ought to be heading.

His bibliography remains the best and most comprehensive available. It benefits from and parallels the entries published just two years earlier in James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976). Allen and Leonard are preparing a new edition of their one-volume survey which will include an updated, but more selective bibliography. Another place to begin is Mary A. Vance, *Nauvoo, Illinois: A Bibliography* (Monticello, Illinois: Vance Bibliographies, 1980). The best way to keep up to date with the steady outpouring of articles, books, and theses on Nauvoo is through the annual listings in *BYU Studies* and *Dialogue* and in the quarterly subject bibliographies in the *Newsletter of the Mormon History Association.*

Keeping current on the work of historians is only half the battle. For anyone seriously interested in Nauvoo history, access to primary sources is essential. For the Nauvoo period alone, 414 titles appear in the comprehensive listing of Chad J. Flake, ed., *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930: Books, Pamphlets, Periodicals, and Broadsides relating to the First Century of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978). For basic publications on the many churches of the Mormon movement see Stephen L. Shields, *The Latter Day Saint Churches: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987). The best introduction to unpublished personal documents remains Davis Bitton, ed., *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young Univer-

sity Press, 1977). Cast as a union catalog that identifies the holdings of major repositories, the *Guide* also summarizes contents for each entry; no fewer than two hundred items refer to Nauvoo. As before, access to other manuscript material requires a visit to the institution holding the items. New published guides to collections apparently have not been a priority in the past decade.

Useful among the studies of the historical enterprise itself is Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1979). A more concise overview is David J. Whittaker, "Historians and the Mormon Experience: A Sesquicentennial Perspective," in *Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, January 26, 1980: A Sesquicentennial Look at Church History* (Provo, Utah: [Brigham Young University], 1980), pp. 293-327 (cited hereafter as *Sperry Symposium, 1980*). Perhaps most significant for writers of Nauvoo's history is the interpretive analysis in Thomas G. Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian's Perspective," *Dialogue* 19 (Fall 1986): 25-49.

General Works: Of special value as an introduction to Mormon history is Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979). Written for a non-Mormon audience and now in paperback (Vintage/Random House, 1980), it examines issues of interest in today's world. Pertinent to Nauvoo, besides the well-researched chapter devoted to that period, are discussions of early persecutions, dispersion, immigration, church-state relationships, marriage and family patterns, and women's history. This outstanding overview, topical in contrast to the chronological approach of Allen and Leonard, thoughtfully reponds to questions deserving attention in histories of Nauvoo.

Another noteworthy general work is Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), a volume in the Chicago History of American Religion Series edited by Martin E. Marty. Like *The Mormon Experience,* Hansen's work is thematic. Similarly, he discusses topics of culture, politics, marriage, and race. These, and his overview of "The Mormon Rationalization of Death," deepen our understanding of developments in Nauvoo. Although Thomas G. Alexander, in a review in *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 146-48, takes issue with some of Hansen's speculative hypotheses, he applauds the book's usefulness in helping readers "understand some of the relationships between Mormonism and the larger American society." (p. 147)

As yet unpublished, but useful for the interpretive frameworks they propose, are four recent dissertations. Those of Stephen L. Olsen and Rex E. Cooper offer historians conceptual insights from cultural anthropology. All attempt to define the followers of Joseph Smith as a people united through a religious sense of community. Warren D. Hansen, "Re-establishing Community: An Analysis of Joseph Smith's Social Thought in the Context of Philosophical Tradition," (Rutgers, 1980), suggests that Joseph

Smith used charisma, covenants, revelation, and symbols to create a nurturing community. Olsen, "The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830-1846" (Chicago, 1985), found Nauvoo a cultural watershed for Mormon cosmology. There, he concludes, most of the earlier Zionic ideas were adapted to a more traditional American concept of sacred space. Cooper, "The Promises Made to the Fathers: A Diachronic Analysis of Mormon Covenant Organization with Reference to Puritan Federal Theology" (Chicago, 1985), found in Nauvoo a transition from the economic controls of Missouri to a cohesiveness of kinship ties. The temple, says Cooper, marked the center of the new Mormon solidarity. Another scholarly analysis compares Mormon dreams of Eden and Jerusalem as paradigms of environmental-social design: Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976), chapter 5.

These general works of synthesis and interpretation underscore the need for a new history of Nauvoo informed by newly available sources and contemporary analysis. The sesquicentennial offers an incentive for such a work. Hopefully one or more will appear. One comprehensive synthesis actively under preparation will reflect the collaborative efforts of Glen M. Leonard and the late T. Edgar Lyon. Their brief essay, "The Nauvoo Years," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 10-15, is but a glimpse at themes to be explored in the book.

In recent years Nauvoo has been featured in thematic issues of several publications. Additional collections, including the one in this issue of *WIRS,* will perhaps appear for the anniversary. A decade ago, guest editor LaMar C. Berrett, of the Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, assembled nine articles on Nauvoo for *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter and Spring 1979). All are cited below individually, as are a half dozen from the *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* and nine contributions by historians to a commemorative issue of the *Ensign,* the adult magazine of the LDS church. Lyndon W. Cook and Donald Q. Cannon compiled previously published articles in a two-volume set of readings. Nauvoo is represented in the first, *A New Light Breaks Forth: Essays in Mormon History, Vol I* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, 1980), with articles by Cook on Isaac Galland, from *BYU Studies,* Spring 1979; James B. Allen and Malcom R. Thorp on the apostolic mission to England, from *BYU Studies,* Summer 1975; and James L. Kimball, Jr., on the Nauvoo charter, from *JISHS,* Spring 1971.

Historic Sites: Within the Mormon churches we can expect a heightened interest in historic sites during the Nauvoo sesquicentennial. Most of the attention will reflect upon existing sites, but the LDS church has announced plans for work on Carthage Jail and is planning restorations at three or four other locations. These are the latest of nearly two dozen full-scale restorations undertaken by the church's Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., in a thirty-year effort begun in the 1950s by Dr. J. LeRoy Kimball. The RLDS church completed a new visitors' center and restoration of the Joseph

Smith Red Brick Store early in the 1980s. Indicators that historic sites rank high in consciousness among Utah Saints is reported by Richard Jackson and Roger Henrie, "Perceptions of Sacred Space," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 3 (Spring-Summer 1983): 94-107. Their survey found sites ranking third in "sacredness" behind temples and homelands. A thoughtful history and commentary on the development of LDS church sites is Paul L. Anderson, "Heroic Nostalgia: Enshrining the Mormon Past," *Sunstone* 5 (July-August 1980): 47-55.

For the past several years, official magazines of the two churches have been silent on Nauvoo historic sites. Brief mentions a decade ago were in conjunction with the projects mentioned above or the 150th anniversary of the movement's formal beginnings at Palmyra, New York, in 1830. In its Nauvoo theme issue, the LDS *Ensign* included a photo essay, "The Way It Looks Today: A Camera Tour of Church History Sites in Illinois," 9 (September 1979): 34-50. The RLDS church published Kenneth Stobaugh's brief general reflection on sites as educational tools, "The Historic Site: A Document of the Past," *Saints Herald* 124 (October 1977): 31-34. To inform RLDS members of activities at Nauvoo, the now semi-monthly *Saints Herald* inserted notices on several developments: "New Administration and Visitors Center: Nauvoo, Illinois," 127 (February 1, 1980): 26-27; Paul DeBarthe, "Archaeology at the Smith Center," 126 (May 1, 1979): 18-19, 25; and F. Mark McKiernan, "Nauvoo's Red Brick Store," 126 (December 1, 1979): 5-6. Popular non-church listings are James Krohe, Jr., "The New City of Joseph," *Americana* 8 (March-April 1980): 56-61, and P. Oliver, "Farewell to Nauvoo," *Junior Scholastic* 83 (December 12, 1980): 8-10.

Of more substance and value are the reports of historic sites archaeologists and others involved with projects in the city. That Nauvoo-as-built did not retain as idealized City of Zion form is demonstrated in Donald L. Enders, "Platting the City Beautiful: A Historical and Archaeological Glimpse of Nauvoo Streets," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 409-15; while Dale L. Berge offers a detailed case study in "The Jonathan Browning Site: An Example of Archaeology for Restoration in Nauvoo, Illinois, *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 201-29. A complete history of the building and its restoration is Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan, *Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Red Brick Store* (Macomb, Ill.: Western Illinois University, 1985). For colleagues, Robert T. Bray published "Times and Seasons: An Archaeological Perspective on Early Latter Day Saints Printing," *Historical Archaeology* 13 (1979): 53-119.

Reports issued by the sponsoring agencies include Dale L. Berge, *Archaeology of the Daniel Butler, Jr., Property, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Nauvoo, Ill.: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1979), and the two by Robert T. Bray: *Archaeology at the Joseph Smith Stable, Southwest Corner Water and Carlin Streets, Nauvoo, Illinois* and *The Turley Site: An Account of the 1973 Archaeological Work, Nauvoo, Illinois*, both published in 1980 by the American Archaeology Division, University of Missouri, Columbia.

II. BIOGRAPHY

While historic sites give visitors a glimpse into the physical environment of early Mormons, the written word fills in details of the lives and times of old Nauvoo. Biographers have been busily engaged this past decade. They have completed a few important major efforts and numerous shorter studies, all of them contributing to a greater understanding of key players in Nauvoo's fascinating drama. First-rate books on Emma Smith, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and William Clayton have attracted deserved attention. Among the articles are several looking at the contributions of persons often ignored because they defected from the movement.

Emma Smith: The Smith family attracted more attention than all the others combined, with the spotlight focused particularly upon Emma Hale Smith, wife of the Prophet Joseph. At center stage is the much-discussed book by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith: Prophet's Wife, 'Elect Lady,' Polygamy's Foe, 1804-1879* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984). Upwards of forty percent of the book takes place in Nauvoo, where polygamy, the Relief Society, the martyrdom, succession, and expulsion all get detailed attention. Newell and Avery give us an Emma refreshingly and threateningly new as they unravel the enigma of complex relationships. As Maureen Ursenbach Beecher notes in a review, "They know the woman as though she were their sister-mother-friend, whose faults they understand and forgive, whose strengths they recognize and praise. . . . Without sacrificing Joseph we have an Emma Smith we can own, understand, and love." (*Dialogue* 18 [Summer 1985]: 180-81).

Two other recent attempts at understanding Emma have been inspirational, even melodramatic, rather than scholarly: Roy A. Cheville, *Joseph and Emma Smith: Companions for Seventeen and a Half Years, 1827-1844* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1977); and Erwin E. Wirkus, *Judge Me Dear Reader* (Idaho Falls, Idaho: Author, 1978). The two are reviewed by Linda K. Newell, *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 115-17. Analytical in nature is Don H. Compier, "The Faith of Emma Smith," *JWHAJ* 6 (1986): 64-72, who explains Emma's moral earnestness in certain ethical questions as a product of her Methodist upbringing.

Preceding publication of *Mormon Enigma*, Avery and Newell elaborated on conclusions reached during their exhaustive research. Published articles include four examining Emma's relationships with influential men and women: an editor, in Newell and Avery, "New Light on the Sun: Emma Smith and the *New York Sun* Letter," *JMH* 6 (1979): 23-35; Emma's second husband, in Avery and Newell, "Lewis C. Bidamon, Stepchild of Mormondom," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 375-88; an apostolic successor, in Avery and Newell, "The Lion and the Lady: Brigham Young and Emma Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1980): 81-97; and a sister-wife, in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, Newell, and Avery, "Emma and Eliza and the Stairs," *BYU Studies* 22 (Winter 1982): 87-95.

Since publication of the book, Linda Newell has explained the historical project in "Exponent Day Speech: In Search of Emma," *Exponent II,* 7 (Spring 1981): 2-4; and elaborated on aspects in "The Emma Smith Lore Reconsidered," *Dialogue* 17 (Autumn 1984): 87-100. To further profile their famous subject, Avery and Newell offered "The Elect Lady: Emma Hale Smith," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 64-67; while Avery published "Emma Smith through Her Writings," *Dialogue* 17 (Autumn 1984): 101-106.

Joseph Smith: Though attention has centered on Emma, Joseph Smith has not been entirely neglected. Offering valuable perspective is the essay by Thomas G. Alexander, "The Place of Joseph Smith in the Development of American Religion: A Historiographical Inquiry," *JMH* 5 (1978): 3-18. Alexander's assessment of varying interpretations of Joseph Smith sets the stage for a new religious biography. Of particular help in such an undertaking would be a scholarly edition of his diaries, histories, letters, and other documents in his own hand or dictated to a scribe. Such a volume, which includes numerous Nauvoo letters, is Dean C. Jessee, comp. and ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983. Jessee excludes materials previously attributed to the Prophet but written by others under his name. This, according to Jessee, allows Joseph's true character to emerge: it is one of commitment, spirituality, loyalty, humility, and love of life. For a selection of common-sense sayings see Donald Q. Cannon, comp., *The Wisdom of Joseph Smith* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1983).

Serving hand-in-hand with *Personal Writings* is Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1987). Although seven of the eleven diaries deal with Nauvoo, all were kept by others for him and thus minimize access to the Prophet's personal insights. Their usefulness is as a concise source document for biographers and historians. An unsuccessful effort is Leland R. Nelson, comp., *The Journal of Joseph: The Personal Diary of a Modern Prophet by Joseph Smith, Jr.* (Provo, Utah: Council Press, 1979). Howard C. Searle points out the problems inherent in extracting from the Prophet's "own" *History* and calling it a diary, in a commentary on Nelson's work, "Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: A Review Essay," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 101-22.

A thoughtful look at comments by those who knew Joseph personally is presented in Marvin S. Hill, "Joseph Smith the Man: Some Reflections on a Subject of Controversy," *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 175-86. Other contemporary observations appear in *BYU Studies:* Dean Jessee, "Howard Coray's Recollections of Joseph Smith," 17 (Spring 1977): 341-47; Lyndon W. Cook, " 'Brother Joseph Is Truly a Wonderful Man, He Is All We Could Wish a Prophet to Be.': Pre-1844 Letters of William Law," 20 (Winter 1980): 207-18; Cook, " 'A More Virtuous Man Never Existed on the Footstool of the Great Jehovah': George Miller on Joseph Smith," 19 (Spring 1979): 402-407; and Donald Q. Cannon, "Reverend George Moore Comments on

Nauvoo, the Mormons, and Joseph Smith," *WIRS* 5 (Spring 1982): 5-16.

A pair of short articles for LDS members adds to the assessment of Smith's standing: Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith's Reputation: Among Historians, *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 58-61, and Truman G. Madsen, "Joseph Smith's Reputation: Among Theologians, " *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 61-63. Another aspect of his life is examined by William G. Hartley, in "Joseph Smith and Nauvoo's Youth," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 26-29. John Lee Allaman, "Joseph Smith's Visits to Henderson County," *WIRS* 8 (Spring 1985): 46-55, is local history. Interest in the visual image is analyzed in Ephraim Hatch, "What Did Joseph Smith Look Like?" *Ensign* 11 (March 1981): 65-73, and reported in Lavina Fielding Anderson, "139-Year-Old [Maudsley] Portraits of Joseph and Emma Smith," *Ensign* 11 (March 1981): 62-64.

Smith Family: Biographical articles on other Smith family members continue to appear. Richard Lloyd Anderson, in "Joseph Smith's Brothers: Nauvoo and Afterwards," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 30-33, examines the religious unity of the four who died at Nauvoo and alienation of the surviving William Smith. Analyzing the survivor's quest for acceptance as father-patriarch is Paul M. Edwards, "William B. Smith: The Persistent 'Pretender,' " *Dialogue* 18 (Summer 1985): 128-39. Another reassessment of reputation is Irene M. Bates, "William Smith, 1811-1893: Problematic Patriarch," *Dialogue* 16 (Summer 1983): 11-23. One who did go west is profiled in Bates's "Uncle John Smith, 1781-1854: Patriarchal Bridge," *Dialogue* 20 (Fall 1987): 79-89.

From research for a planned biography, Valeen Tippetts Avery shares information on the artistic contributions of Joseph Smith's youngest son in "Sketches of the Sweet Singer: David Hyrum Smith, 1844-1904," *JWHAJ* 5 (1985): 3-15. The oldest son, first president of the RLDS church, is remembered in Richard P. Howard, ed., *The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith III (1832-1914)* Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1979), a photo-reprint of the original serial publication edited for *Saints Herald,* 1934-37, by Mary Audentia Smith Anderson and later republished as *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* (Herald House, 1952). Although the families of Joseph and Hyrum Smith followed different ecclesiastical lines after the martyrdom, descendants in recent years have become reacquainted through family and historical gatherings. In the spirit of this kinship ecuminism, Buddy Youngreen shares letters and other reactions to an early meeting in "Sons of the Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion — 1860," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 351-70.

Other Nauvooans: Other major Mormon figures have received biographical attention recently, including several whose contributions in the Nauvoo years were significant. Heading the list is Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985). Exhaustive research in the LDS Church archives fills out Arrington's story of Apostle Young, British missionary and trusted aide to Nauvoo's prophet. A shorter, but equally balanced treatment is Newell G. Bringhurst, *Brigham*

Young and the Expanding American Frontier, The Library of American Biography, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986), which devotes forty pages to the Nauvoo period.

Supplementing the comprehensive biographies are G. Eugene England, *Brother Brigham* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); Ronald K. Esplin, "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 300-310; and Leonard J. Arrington and JoAnn Jolley, "The Faithful Young Family: The Parents, Brothers, and Sisters of Brigham," *Ensign* 10 (August 1980): 52-57. Useful for reference is Elden J. Watson, comp., *Brigham Young Addresses [1836-1877],* 6 vols. (n.p.: Elden J. Watson, 1979-84), a limited-circulation, typescript compilation from mostly published sources. The Nauvoo speeches are in volume 1.

Young's successor as LDS President and an apostle in the Nauvoo years in interpreted journalistically in Samuel W. Taylor, *The Kingdom or Nothing: The Life of John Taylor, Militant Mormon* (New York: Macmillan, 1976). Written for a general national audience, it was received with reservation by historians. Likewise Samuel W. Taylor and Raymond W. Taylor, *The John Taylor Papers: Records of the Last Utah Pioneer,* 2 vols. (Redwood City, Calif.: Taylor Trust, 1984-85). Despite the title, this compilation is intended as an autobiography; extracts from primary sources are linked together by a narrative bridge to create a life history. A primary source presented in an academically commendable format is Dean C. Jesse, ed., "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal, January 1845-September 1845," *BYU Studies* 23 (Summer 1983): 1-124.

Fine biographies of Heber C. Kimball and Orson Pratt and the publication of the diaries of Kimball and Wilford Woodruff add considerably to our understanding of these members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Stanley B. Kimball authored *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Prophet and Pioneer* (Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1981), and edited *On the Potter's Wheel: Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in Association with Smith Research Associates, 1987). Most of the diaries are from the Nauvoo years. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898: Typescript,* 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85), contains Woodruff's detailed record of his British Mission and Nauvoo experiences in volumes 1-3. Pratt's troubles with polygamy and other Nauvoo questions are covered in chapters 4 and 5 of Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985).

Beyond the top levels of authority in Nauvoo but closely associated with them were a number of people whose names are well known and lives now better known through recent examination. James B. Allen previewed the insights of his research into previously unavailable sources in "One Man's Nauvoo: William Clayton's Experience in Mormon Illinois," *JMH* 6 (1979): 37-59. Allen's book, *Trials of Discipleship: The Story of William Clayton, a Mormon* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), gives new information on Mormonism's British and Nauvoo experiences, including both public and private events.

Another associate of the Prophet to receive considerable attention is Porter Rockwell. Harold Schindler added new research, mostly in long footnotes, for a second edition of *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God, Son of Thunder* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), first issued in 1966. Much less valuable is Nicholas Van Alfen, *Porter Rockwell: Mormon Frontier Marshall and Body Guard of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1981), a third reissuing (1964, 1968) of the author's thesis (BYU, 1938). The newest fresh contribution is Richard Lloyd Dewey, *Porter Rockwell: The Definitive Biography* (New York: Paramount Books, 1986), which was followed with Dewey's *Rockwell: A Novel* (Seaford, N.Y.: Paramount Books, 1987).

Examining other contributions to Nauvoo life are: J. Earl Arrington, "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 337-59; Lyndon W. Cook, "Isaac Galland — Mormon Benefactor," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 261-84; and John E. Hallwas, *Thomas Gregg: Early Illinois Journalist and Author* (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1983). A concise reference encyclopedia setting forth key biographical facts on 78 persons (two dozen of them Nauvooans) is Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982).

Lastly in the biographical arena, there are much-needed reassessments of individuals whose contributions have been clouded in controversy because of disaffection at various stages in their careers. These include the thorough and balanced study by Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22 (Winter 1982): 47-72; an insightful look by John Quist at the forgotten "John E. Page: An Apostle of Uncertainty," *JMH* 12 (1985): 53-68; and a study of rejection, Thomas J. Gregory, "Sidney Rigdon: Post Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 21 (Winter 1981): 51-67. The impact of polygamy on one family is examined in John Frederick Glaser, "The Disaffection of William Law," in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies III* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1986), pp. 163-75. Brief notes are offered in Roger D. Launius, "William Marks and the Restoration," *Saints Herald* 126 (May 1, 1979): 7-8; and Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "The Return of Thomas B. Marsh: He Might Have Been the Second President of the Church," *Sunstone* 6 (July-August 1981): 28-30.

III. SETTLEMENT HISTORY

Official Nauvoo, in an ecclesiastical sense, is a story of religious government and of the followers who made up the community so governed. Those people arrived at Nauvoo from Missouri and elsewhere, with a significant contingent from Liverpool, England. Leadership, proselytizing, and immigration have received specialized attention in recent studies.

The Ecclesiastical Community: On ecclesiastical topics, a challenging thesis is Gary James Bergera, "Joseph Smith and the Hazards of Charismatic Leadership," *JWHAJ* 6 (1986): 33-42, a psychological analysis that finds Joseph Smith failing to distinguish between fantasy and reality.

An administrative approach is Dale Beecher, "The Office of Bishop," *Dialogue 15* (Winter 1982): 103-15. Selected character sketches are compiled by Maureen Ursenbach and James L. Kimball, Jr., "The First Relief Society," *Ensign* 9 (March 1979): 25-29. Meanwhile, Elden J. Watson, "The Nauvoo Tabernacle," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 416-21, reminds us that the famous Salt Lake dome was anticipated with plans for a never-realized tent tabernacle in Nauvoo.

Two worthwhile studies examine the sense of community in the Great Basin and before: D. Michael Quinn, "Echoes and Foreshadowings: The Distinctiveness of the Mormon Community," *Sunstone* 3 (March-April 1978): 12-17; and Warren David Hansen, "Re-establishing Community: An Analysis of Joseph Smith's Social Thought in the Context of Philosophical Tradition" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New Jersey, Rutgers, 1980). Looking outward along the settlement spokes is Stanley B. Kimball, "Nauvoo West: The Mormons on the Iowa Shore," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 132-42.

The British Mission: Though contemporary with the Nauvoo period, the story of Mormonism in the British Isles is often treated as a separate topic. Geographically half a world away, it is nonetheless essential to an understanding of Nauvoo. Our knowledge of conversion, immigration, apostolic training, and British contributions to Mormonism were enhanced this past decade because of the sesquicentennial in 1987 of the beginnings of the British Mission.

Four studies in special issues of *BYU Studies* identify the social, economic, and religious settings from which five thousand Mormons emigrated during the Nauvoo years. Ronald W. Walker found the social context well-suited for conversions: "Cradling Mormonism: The Rise of the Gospel in Early Victorian England," 27 (Winter 1987): 25-36. Tim B. Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht, and J. Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective," 27 (Spring 1987): 119-35, scan 150 years demographically. Jan G. Harris, "Mormons in Victorian Manchester," *BYU Studies* 27 (Winter 1987) 47-56, offers a sampling of "typical" English Latter-day Saints. An RLDS view is John E. Thompson, "A History of British Mission of the Latter Day Saints," in Draper, ed. *Restoration Studies I* (1980), pp. 42-57. Looking at the development from the Nauvoo period onward in another part of the Empire is Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of Mormonism in Scotland, 1840-1900," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 27-52.

Richard E. Turley, Jr., gives us a look at one missionary-associate of the apostles in "Theodore Turley: Mission Journal, 1839-1840" (Honors thesis, BYU, 1982). In Scandinavia, the early missionary labors were met with governmental suppression, outlined for one country in Gerald M. Haslam, "The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, BYU, 1981).

Immigration: Useful as references for the ocean-crossing experiences are the encyclopedic compilations of Conway B. Sonne: *Saints on the*

Seas: A Maritime History of the Mormon Migration, 1830-1890 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), a detailed account with vital statistics on 325 ships; and a supplement, *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration, 1830-1890* (Utah, 1987).

Yet to be told is the full story of the Gathering to Nauvoo — immigrants from across the Atlantic and converts from all parts of North America. Hints of the richness of the British immigration story can be had in documents inserted in the "Historian's Corner" in *BYU Studies:* David H. Pratt, ed., "Oh! Brother Joseph [a letter to Joseph Smith from Parley P. Pratt in Manchester]," 27 (Winter 1987): 127-31; James B. Allen, ed., " 'We Had a Very Hard Voyage for the Season': John Moon's Account of the First Emigrant Company of British Saints," 17 (Spring 1977): 339-41; Ronald W. Walker, ed., "The Willard Richards and Brigham Young 5 September 1840 Letter from England to Nauvoo," 18 (Spring 1978): 466-75; and James B. Allen, ed., "To the Saints in England: Impressions of a Mormon Immigrant (The 10 December 1840 William Clayton Letter from Nauvoo to Manchester)," 18 (Spring 1978): 475-80. Biographical vignettes are offered in Lavina Fielding Anderson, "They Came to Nauvoo," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 20-25.

IV. DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENTS

The development of the Latter-day Saint belief system and its distinction from that of Reorganized Latter Day Saints centers in Nauvoo. The 1840s were a watershed in Mormon thought, and much recent research is oriented toward that history.

Joseph Smith and Scripture: Central to an understanding of Mormon doctrine are the sacred texts and sermons of Joseph Smith. A recent aid to research in the latter subject is Andrew R. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: the Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980). Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Provo, Utah: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), gives background on the revelations of the Nauvoo period found in Doctrine and Covenants (Utah edition) Sections 121-23 (Liberty), and 124-32 and 135 (Hancock County). Another selection is Fred C. Collier, comp., *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing Co., 1979).

Commenting on questions of historical interest in Mormon scripture studies are: Kevin L. Barney, "The Joseph Smith Translation and Ancient Texts of the Bible," *Dialogue* 19 (Fall 1986): 85-102, who finds Joseph Smith harmonizing and clarifying inconsistencies rather than restoring original texts; Grant Underwood, "The Earliest Reference Guides to the Book of Mormon: Windows into the Past," *JMH* 12 (1985): 68-89; Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," *Dialogue* 17 (Autumn 1984): 35-74, which looks at periodicals, 1832-46; Danel W. Bach-

man, "The Authorship of Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 27-44, which confirms that Joseph Smith, rather than Brigham Young originated polygamy; and H. Donl Peterson, "Mummies and Manuscripts: An Update on the Lebolo-Chandler Story," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 280-92. Smith's reputation as a translator of ancient records brought into his possession at Nauvoo a set of inscribed records reviewed in Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (August 1981): 66-74.

Groundbreaking analyses of the historical development of Mormon doctrine are beginning to appear. Some of these are informed by an increasing awareness of and interest in Mormonism's place in American religious history. One such developmental interpretation of theology is Thomas G. Alexander, "The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctine: From Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology," *Sunstone* 5 (July-August 1980): 24-33. Sociologists Gordon Shepherd and Gary Shepherd span a century of sermons with a scientific sampling analyzed in *A Kingdom Transformed: Themes in the Development of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984).

That others besides Joseph Smith contributed to Mormon religious thought is documented in David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering [1836-1857]," *JMH* 4 (1977): 35-49, and given biographical focus by Peter Crawley, "Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering," *Dialogue* 15 (Autumn 1982): 13-26. Crawley highlights the importance of the pampleteering in the Nauvoo period in "The Passage of Mormon Primitivism," *Dialogue* 13 (Winter 1980): 26-37, where he posits a moderation at Nauvoo of both New York's primitivism and Missouri's authoritarianism.

Certainly Mormon doctrine was being defined and redefined during the church's years in its Mississippi Valley headquarters. Of lasting significance to both LDS and RLDS churches was Joseph Smith's formal adoption of a list of thirteen faith statements. Their origin is outlined in John W. Welch and David J. Whittaker, " 'We Believe . . .': Development of the Articles of Faith," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 50-55. The notion that a physical migration to a place of sacred safety would precede an imminent Second Coming is examined by Grant Underwood in his M.A. thesis, "Early Mormon Millennialism: Another Look" (BYU, 1981), while aspects of the topic are examined in three articles: "Seminal vs. Sesquicentennial Saints: A Look at Mormon Millennialism," *Dialogue* 14 (Spring 1981): 32-44, chapter 1 of the thesis; "Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind," *JMH* 9 (1982): 41-51; and "Apocalyptic Adversaries: Mormonism Meets Millerism," *JWHAJ* 7 (1987): 53-61.

Several writers with training in history and theology have attempted to place Joseph Smith into broader religious currents. Clare D. Vlahos examined classical Christian thought and found the Mormon Prophet closer to Locke than Calvin: "Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Conception of Revelation," in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies II* (Independence, Mo.: Herald

Publishing House, 1983): pp. 63-74. In a thoughtful examination of mysticism, Paul M. Edwards, "The Secular Smiths," *JMH* 4 (1977): 3-17, proposes that Joseph Smith's orientation was of "a predominantly Eastern persuasion." (p. 5) His essay also appears, reprinted, in *Restoration Studies II*, pp. 89-101. Max Nolan challenges this interpretation and finds instead a parallel between Joseph Smith's view of salvation for kindred dead and the notion of universal salvation in Mahayana Buddhism: "Joseph Smith and Mysticism," *JMH* 10 (1983): 105-116. For still another view, see Garland Tickemyer, "Joseph Smith and Process Theology," *Dialogue* 17 (Autumn 1984): 75-86.

Temple Theology: Of particular significance to the development of Mormon theology during the Nauvoo period were ideas associated with the temple and its ordinances. Given a central place in the LDS church in Utah, these doctrines include some discussed in recent articles by Blake Ostler, "The Idea of Pre-existence in the Development of Mormon Thought," *Dialogue* 15 (Spring 1982): 59-78; Robert E. Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Plurality of Worlds Idea," *Dialogue* 19 (Summer 1986): 12-36; and M. Guy Bishop, "To Overcome the 'Last Enemy': Early Mormon Perceptions of Death," *BYU Studies* 26 (Summer 1986): 63-79. Bishop's article draws from his dissertation, completed in 1981 at the University of Illinois at Carbondale, "The Celestial Family: Early Mormon Thought on Life and Death, 1830-1846," in which he gives Mormon other-worldly views on marriage and family and on the afterlife a context in Jacksonian America.

The religious ceremonies known as the endowment, first elaborated in Nauvoo and now performed in nearly forty Latter-day Saint temples worldwide, are given their most thorough historical overview in a sensitive, open study by David John Buerger, "The Development of the Mormon Temple Endowment Ceremony," *Dialogue* 20 (Winter 1987): 33-76. Buerger begins with Kirtland Temple ordinances and continues his analysis of change through the present. A commentary on this article is Armand L. Mauss, "Culture, Charisma, and Change: Reflections on Mormon Temple Worship," *Dialogue* 20 (Winter 1987): 77-83. Other aspects of temple worship are examined in Lisle "G" Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 361-74; David John Buerger, " 'The Fulness of the Priesthood': The Second Anointing in Latter-day Saint Theology and Practice," *Dialogue* 16 (Spring 1983): 10-44; D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *BYU Studies*, 19 (Fall 1978): 79-105; and Steven H. Heath, "The Sacred Shout," *Dialogue* 19 (Fall 1986): 115-23. Though all of these articles transcend the 1840s, Nauvoo's religious history is a locus for understanding LDS temple theology.

Polygamy: Ten years ago, the first scholarly studies of Mormon plural marriage had been completed in thesis form and were just beginning to make their way into print. In the 1978 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* with Poll's Nauvoo bibliography was Danel W. Bachman's summary of his thesis (Purdue, 1975), "New Light on an Old Hypothesis:

The Ohio Origins of the Revelation on Eternal Marriage," 5 (1978): 19-32. Lawrence Foster's dissertation (Chicago, 1976) appeared as *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), and the same year Louis J. Kern completed his work on the same three communities, *An Ordered Love: Sex Roles and Sexuality in Victorian Utopias — The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981). The two authors examine religious approaches to the reordering of social life utilizing interdisciplinary models. In a review of Kern's work in *Dialogue* 14 (Winter 1981): 207-12, Foster notes, "My orientation was essentially anthropological, informed by comparative perspectives from other cross-cultural studies of millenarian movements. . . . By contrast, Kern's study is essentially Freudian in orientation, modified by his strong commitment to ideological feminism and his work in American studies." (p.207)

About a third of the first comprehensive survey on Mormon polygamy deals with the Nauvoo period. Carefully researched and filled with facts on the origins and practice of the peculiar principle, Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), lays out administrative patterns, personal struggles, and the heritage of deception encouraged by periods of secrecy. Questions on abberations to the norm are explored by Van Wagoner in "Mormon Polyandry in Nauvoo," *Dialogue* 18 (Fall 1985): 67-83, and in "Sarah M. Pratt: The Shaping of an Apostate," *Dialogue* 19 (Summer 1986): 69-99.

The tradition in the RLDS church of rejecting polygamy as a Utah abberation has received some historical attention in the pages of the *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal*. Richard P. Howard opened the discussion with "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A Preliminary Analysis," *JWHA* 3 (1983): 14-29, in which he found Joseph Smith responsible for celestial (monogomous and plural) marriage but only indirectly for earthly plural marriage. A response, commending Howard's efforts to understand the RLDS position, is Imogene Goodyear, "Joseph Smith and Polygamy: An Alternate View," 4 (1984): 16-21. Alma R. Blair, "RLDS Views of Polygamy: Some Historiographical Notes," 5 (1985): 16-28, identifies sources for tracing patterns from the Independence perspective. Linda King Newell's "Emma Hale Smith and the Polygamy Question," 4 (1984): 3-15, examines denials of the Prophet's activities by his wife.

V. SOCIAL HISTORY

An important corrective to Mormon history, including Nauvoo history, is being offered through studies in women's, ethnic, and social history. The most significant contributions over the past decade are perhaps those opening a new view of the Mormon experience through the lives of women. Other aspects of social history are getting some attention, but much remains to be done.

Women's History: A general overview of LDS women's history is Jill Mulvay Derr, "'Strength in Our Union': The Making of Mormon Sisterhood," in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), pp. 153-207. Even though it extends in both directions from Nauvoo, this path-breaking synthesis offers a useful, detailed context for understanding the 1840s. An overview that follows changes in broad chronological patterns is Lawrence Foster, "From Frontier Activism to Neo-Victorian Domesticity: Mormon Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *JMH* 6 (1979): 3-21. A personal profile of prominent women is Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The 'Leading Sisters': A Female Hierarchy in Nineteenth Century Mormon Society," *JMH* 9 (1982): 25-39.

Many of those working in Mormon women's history approach the subject with religious questions. Indeed, interest seems centered on the loss of female power vis-a-vis male priesthood within Mormonism over time. Looking at the authority issue is Linda King Newell, "The Historical Relationship of Mormon Women and Priesthood," *Dialogue* 18 (Fall 1985): 21-32. Spiritual aspects of the question are thoughtfully reviewed in Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Women and the Temple: Toward a New Understanding," in Beecher and Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit* (1987), pp. 80-110, and in Linda King Newell, "Gifts of the Spirit: Women's Share," in *Sisters in Spirit*, pp. 111-50.

Glimpses into the lives of 25 first-generation converts through their own writings are in Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982). Two of them reflect directly on Nauvoo, but others were residents there and provide observations on being Mormon in their generation. Documentary and honorific in nature is Dora Flack, *Testimony in Bronze: The Story of Florence Hansen and the Nauvoo Monument to Women* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing, 1978).

For access to the impressive literature on the subject, two useful essays are available: Carol Cornwall Madsen and David J. Whittaker, "History's Sequel: A Source Essay on Women in Mormon History," *JMH* 6 (1979): 123-45; updated in Lyn Scott and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "Mormon Women: A Bibliography in Process, 1977-1985" *JMH* 12 (1985): 113-27.

Ethnic Studies: For nineteenth-century Mormon history, the ethnic factor is rather specifically focused on blacks and Indians in the United States. Since the 1978 LDS revelation extending priesthood to all worthy males, attention on published LDS black history has concentrated on the origins of priesthood denial. Newell G. Bringhurst continued the discussion begun earlier by Lester Bush (*Dialogue,* 1973) with "An Ambiguous Decision: The Implementation of Mormon Priesthood Denial for the Black Man — A Reexamination," *UHQ* 46 (Winter 1978): 45-64, and "Elijah Abel and the Changing Status of Blacks within Mormonism," *Dialogue* 12 (Summer 1979): 22-36. Ronald K. Esplin, "Brigham Young and Priesthood

Denial to the Blacks: An Alternate View," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 394-402, finds Young a consistent disciple of Joseph Smith and argues for an origin of the practice in Nauvoo. An overview of the much different tradition in the RLDS church is presented in William D. Russell, "A Priestly Role for a Prophetic Church: The RLDS Church and Black Americans," *Dialogue* 12 (Summer 1979): 37-49.

A general overview that sets the limited involvement of Mormons and Indians in Nauvoo into perspective is Rhett S. James, "150 Years of Mormon-Indian Relations: A Synthesis," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 162-92. Broader interpretive views are offered by Keith Parry, "Joseph Smith and the Clash of Sacred Cultures," *Dialogue* 18 (Winter 1985): 65-80, who examines the way Mormon relationships with Indians have been explained in early histories as a stereotypical ritualization.

Nauvoo Society: Social history, long the province of historians of religious life in Medieval Europe and Colonial North America, is finding its way increasingly into Mormon history. While demographic studies are limited, they — and broader narrative analyses of Nauvoo society — are getting some attention in recent years. Researchers most notably have looked at everyday life, literature, and medicine.

Following his own call for such studies, Kenneth W. Godfrey, in "The Nauvoo Neighborhood: A Little Philadelphia or a Unique City Set Upon a Hill?" *JMH* 11 (1984): 78-97, uses James McGregor Burns's *The Vineyard of Liberty* (1982), a social history of Philadelphia, as a base of comparison for Nauvoo. He finds much alike in occupations, economy, associations, death and disease, recreation, worship, clothing, homes, crime, ordinances, and marriage patterns. Taking an inside-looking-out cultural approach, Grant Underwood, "Early Mormon Perceptions of Contemporary America, 1830-1846," *BYU Studies* 26 (Summer 1986): 49-61, summarizes Latter-day Saint comments on contemporary medicine, polite society, reform movements, science, and perfectionism. He found them flavored by a world view centered in scripture and contemporary revelation.

Much-needed demographic data bases are being assembled by several researchers. At Brigham Young University, investigators are combining biographical information from New York, Ohio/Missouri, Illinois, and Utah periods to trace patterns of migration, population, marriage, family, wealth, and death. A preliminary overview of part of this study is James E. Smith, "Frontier Nauvoo: Building a Picture from Statistics," *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 16-19.

One assemblage of vital facts is Lyndon W. Cook, *Civil Marriages in Nauvoo and Some Outlying Areas (1839-1845)* (Provo, Utah: Liberty Publishing Co., 1980), indexed by names. Cook compiled data from *Times and Seasons, The Wasp, Nauvoo Neighbor,* and a manuscript "Record of Marriages in the City of Nauvoo" (LDS Historical Department). Lyman D. Platt, *Nauvoo: Early Mormon Records Series, Vol. 1* (Highland, Utah: n.p., 1980), reproduces the 1842 census and several membership lists.

Historians of Mormon literature are discovering nineteenth century

classics in personal literature — diaries, letters, and autobiographies — viewed traditionally only as a source for information. That such writings may also have religious value is considered in Eugene England, "A Modern Acts of the Apostles, 1840: Mormon Literature in the Making," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 79-95.

Nauvoo's prose has received less recent attention than its poetry. One such study is Roger K. Peterson, "Joseph Smith, Poet: A Literary Analysis of Writings Commonly Associated with His Name" (Ph.D. dissertation, BYU, 1982), reported in "Joseph Smith: Prophet-Poet," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 265-79. Petersen finds in Smith's writings and translations religious patterns from the Bible as well as familiar poetic devices. Literary historian John E. Hallwas, in "The Midwestern Poetry of Eliza Snow," *WIRS* 5 (Fall 1982): 136-45, places typical lyrics from Eliza's published 1856 collection into the context of time and place. Poetry as hymn is the subject of two other fine articles: Michael Hicks, "Poetic Borrowing in Early Mormonism," *Dialogue* 18 (Spring 1985): 132-44, finds LDS poets adapting existing folk songs, hymns, and tunes to fit Mormon ideas of communalism, millennialism, modern prophets, and temporal as spiritual. Focusing on one prolific writer, Dean L. May examines "The Millennial Hymns of Parley P. Pratt," *Dialogue* 16 (Spring 1983): 145-50.

The Prophet in a more mundane literary pursuit is examined in Walter A. Norton, "Joseph Smith as a Jacksonian Man of Letters: His Literary Development as Evidence in His Newspaper Writings" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1976). The Nauvoo chapters — Joseph Smith as editor and as presidential candidate — marshal evidence of skilled exposition on themes typical of the times, but leave unanswered the question of authorship of key products of the "Prophet's" pen.

Psychologist Gary L. Bunker and historian Davis Bitton combined efforts to produce a major study examining visual images in the American popular press. *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834-1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983) offers a comprehensive summary of the period treated; Nauvoo contributed little to the visual record of its own time, but generated ideas such as militarism, plural marriage, and temple ordinances that moved into the popular visual imagination. A negative literary image is examined in Rebecca Foster Cornwall and Leonard J. Arrington, "Perpetuation of a Myth: Mormon Danites in Five Western Novels, 1840-90," *BYU Studies* 23 (Spring 1983): 147-65. One of the five, Frederick Marryat's *Monsieur Violet* (1843) appeared during the Nauvoo period.

The well-known Mormon affinity for Thomsonian herbal medicine is examined in overview by Robert T. Divett, "Medicine and the Mormons: A Historical Perspective," *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 16-25. Lester E. Bush, Jr., ed., "On Mormonism, Moral Epidemics, Homeopathy, and Death from Natural Causes," *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979): 83-89, presents extracts from published comments in the 1840s and 1850s. A helpful site-specific study is Matthew Anthony Thomas, "Disease in a Mormon Community: Nauvoo

Illinois, 1839-1846" (B.A. thesis, Harvard University, 1977). Thomas concludes that Nauvooans viewed disease in spiritual terms. Illness was punishment for Babylon but beneficial tribulation for the faithful: herbal medicine won favor because of its congeniality with faith.

VI. POLITICAL-ECONOMIC

Economic History: Historians this past decade have not given much attention to economic questions. Robert Bruce Flanders's *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (1965) remains the standard reference. Three reports and a reprint appeared in *BYU Studies* as the decade began: Donald L. Enders, "The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa:* Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi," 19 (Spring 1979): 321-35, looks at the Church-owned vessel; and Dennis Rowley, "Nauvoo: A River Town," 18 (Winter 1978): 255-72, examines the impact of the river on commerce. A glimpse at an important source that spans pre-Mormon and Mormon periods is T. Edgar Lyon, "The Account Books of the Amos Davis Store at Commerce, Illinois," 19 (Winter 1979): 241-43. Reprinted was Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph I. Bentley, "Joseph Smith and Legal Process: In the Wake of the Steamboat Nauvoo," 19 (Winter 1979): 167-99, from *BYU Law Review* (1976). All of these represent work completed earlier, making even more apparent the recent neglect of this aspect of Nauvoo's past.

Political History: The always-popular political approach to history received attention during the 1980s with studies on the theme out of which political history is made: conflict. For Nauvoo, that tension appears in works examining socio-religious argument, the church-state question, and journalistic debate.

Constitutional questions, whether referring to the U.S. parchment or the living constitution of the Kingdom of God, received attention early in the 1980s, then faded from the historical journals as a subject of focus. A helpful, broad view is John F. Wilson, "Some Comparative Perspectives on the Early Mormon Movement and the Church-State Question, 1830-1845," *JMH* 8 (1981): 63-77, the Tanner Lecture at MHA's 1981 Annual Meeting. Placing the Council of Fifty, Joseph Smith's millennial world government, clearly under Church supervision and deemphasizing its independent political role is D. Michael Quinn, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 163-97. Expanded from a chapter in his dissertation, Quinn's article analyzes the council's organization, participants, and activities. Another study of the subject is Andrew F. Ehat, " 'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 253-79. Ehat looks at internal organization, rules, and procedures revealed in minutes of the secret body. A note on the famous prediction that Mormon elders would save a U.S. Constitution "hanging by a thread" is Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith's 19 July 1840 Discourse," *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 390-94. The Nauvoo "politics of friends" gets brief treatment in Larry Schweikart, "The Mormon Connection: Lincoln, the

Saints, and the Crisis of Equality, *Western Humanities Review* 34 (Winter 1980): 1-22.

The politics of confrontation received attention in several works. Most helpful in clarifying the strains created when Latter-day Saints upset the balance of power in Hancock County is the work of Annette P. Hampshire. She places the story in a framework of sociological theories of dissension. See especially her *Mormonism in Conflict: The Nauvoo Years,* Studies in Religion and Society, vol. 11 (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985). The book is based on a dissertation, "Mormonism in Illinois, 1839-1847: A Study of the Development of Socio-religious Conflict" (University of Durham, 1979). Hampshire follows the steps toward the legitimation of extralegal violence against the Mormons across four political thresholds. Before the book appeared, Hampshire explored her central thesis, that anti-Mormon power emerged as state authority lost its credibility, in "The Triumph of Mobocracy in Hancock County, 1844-46," *WIRS* 5 (Spring 1982): 17-37. The same author profiled a major protagonist in "Thomas Sharp and Anti-Mormon Sentiment in Illinois," *JISHS* 72 (May 1979): 82-100.

Another investigation of the war of words is Jerry C. Jolley, "The Sting of the *Wasp:* Early Nauvoo Newspaper, April 1842 to April 1843," *BYU Studies* 22 (Fall 1982): 487-96. Brief notes in *BYU Studies* are Steven G. Barnett, ed., "Wilson Law: A Sidelight on the *Expositor* Incident," and Lyndon W. Cook, "James Arlington Bennet and the Mormons," 19 (Winter 1979): 244-47 and 247-49. Mormons and their detractors are the subject of four of six newspaper features on Nauvoo reprinted in a collection of 80 regional spotlights by columnist John E. Hallwas, *Western Illinois Heritage* (Macomb, Ill.: Illinois Heritage Press, 1983). Another popular treatment, this of the aftermath of the 1845 murder of John Miller, is Barbara Howard and Junia Brady, "The Hodges Hanging," *Palimpsest* 60 (March-April 1979): 48-58.

The Mormon question in Missouri remained a live issue throughout the Nauvoo period and has been given some fresh attention. Most useful is Clark V. Johnson, "The Missouri Redress Petitions: A Reappraisal of Mormon Persecutions in Missouri, *BYU Studies* 26 (Spring 1986): 31-44. A biographical study exonerating a key figure of personal hatred (but finding him guilty of political expediency) is L. Dean Marriott, "Lilburn W. Boggs: Interaction with Mormons following Their Expulsion from Missouri" (Ed.D. thesis, BYU, 1979). One Mormon's statement of loss is reproduced in Clark V. Johnson, "Missouri Persecutions: The Petition of Isaac Leany," *BYU Studies* 23 (Winter 1983): 94-103.

The response of some local religionists to the plight of the Saints in 1839, 1844, and 1864 is explored in Roger Launius, "The American Home Missionary Society Collection and Mormonism," *BYU Studies* 23 (Spring 1983): 201-10. Launius shares excerpts from ten other letters, 1841-46, in "American Home Missionary Society Ministers and Mormon Nauvoo: Selected Letters" *WIRS* 8 (Spring 1985): 16-45.

Another ingredient of the socio-political interaction is that of Free-

masonry. Mervin B. Hogan continued to privately publish source materials, including *Mormonism Viewed by a Masonic Adept* (Salt Lake City, 1982), a look at Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon by Manly P. Hall; and *Freemasonry and Civil Confrontation on the Illinois Frontier* (Salt Lake City, 1981), a reprint of Sheriff Jacob Backenstos's 1845 proclamations. Two of Hogan's pieces received negative reviews by Kent Walgren, in "Fast and Loose Freemasonry," *Dialogue* 18 (Fall 1985): 172-80. They are *Mormonism and Freemasonry: The Illinois Episode* (Salt Lake City: Third Century Graphics, 1980), previously published in *Little Masonic Library* (Richmond, Va.: Macoy Publishing, 1977), 2:267-324; and *The Involvement of Freemasonry with Mormonism on the American Midwestern Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Privately Printed, 1982). Walgren finds these, and other Hogan publications, skirting analysis. They are, he concludes, either poorly written essays or error-filled edited documents, leaving yet undone a meaningful historical analysis.

VII. NAUVOO'S DECLENSION

The turning point for Nauvoo's history is destruction of the anti-Mormon *Expositor* and subsequent imprisonment and murder of the Prophet/Lieutenant General/Mayor Joseph Smith. His death led immediately to questions of leadership in the Mormon community, and then, with a renewal of political tension, to the scattering of the population. All of these themes continue to attract historians.

The Martyrdom: The political tension in Nauvoo culminated in the 1844 assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Almost exclusively in recent years historians have concentrated not on the story itself but on how that story has been told. Dean C. Jessee, "Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom," *JMH* 8 (1981): 3-19, explores distortions and gaps in the story as reconstructed for Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*. Davis Bitton, "The Martrydom of Joseph Smith in Early Mormon Writings," JWHAJ 3 (1983): 29-39, reviews the immediate response in poetry, diaries, and letters. Examining published reports are Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Non-Mormon Views of the Martrydom: A Look at Some Early Published Accounts," *JWHAJ* 7 (1987): 12-20, and Paul D. Ellsworth, "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 71-82.

Primary sources are Ronald K. Esplin, ed., "Life in Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 231-40; and Ronald D. Dennis, translator, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum," *BYU Studies* 24 (Winter 1984): 78-109, from the account in Welch by Dan Jones, *History of the Latter-day Saints . . .* (1847). Other aspects of the martyrdom are Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," *BYU Studies* 23 (Winter 1983): 3-18; and Richard L. Anderson, "Joseph Smith's Prophecies of Martyrdom," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980*, pp. 1-14. The folklore of the martrydom's aftermath is adroitly assessed by Richard C. Poulsen, "Fate

and the Persecutors of Joseph Smith: Transmutations of an American Myth," *Dialogue* 11 (Winter 1978): 63-70. Poulsen offers a needed response to N. B. Lundwall's popular *Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1952), which has perpetuated the stories in an uncritical context.

Heirlooms in the form of objects carved from the coffins of the Smith brothers are discussed in a note by Steven G. Barnett, "The Canes of the Martyrdom," *BYU Studies* 21 (Spring 1981): 205-11. A music historian reviews John Taylor's singing of "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" on the day of the martyrdom, in Michael Hicks, " 'Strains Which Will Not Soon Be Allowed to Die . . .': 'The Stranger' and Carthage Jail," *BYU Studies* 23 (Fall 1983): 389-400.

Succession: Research interest in those who would accept leadership roles was concentrated in recent years on Brigham Young and Joseph Smith III. A solid contribution is Ronald K. Esplin's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830-1844" (BYU, 1981). This work is summarized in Esplin's "Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 301-41, which emphasizes the lack of disruptiveness in the transition of power. "Brigham Young and the Power of the Apostleship: Defending the Kingdom through Prayer, 1844-1845," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 102-122, suggests that Young survived the succession crisis through a combination of faith and works. Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Succession Question" (M.A. thesis, BYU, 1983), proposes that the Twelve, as stewards of temple revelations had primacy in succession even though they saw Joseph Smith III as the eventual leader. Despite the title, Roger Launius's "Joseph Smith III and the Mormon Succession Crisis, 1844-1846," *WIRS* 6 (Spring 1983): 5-22, has more to say about why Brigham Young gained control and how Emma Smith became disaffected from the Twelve than about young Joseph. The heir apparent is followed in his developing attitudes toward the calling in W. Grant McMurray, " 'True Son of a True Father': Joseph Smith III and the Succession Question," in *Restoration Studies I* (1980), pp. 131-45.

The discovery of a document purportedly recording the blessing designating Joseph Smith III successor created interest in the RLDS view of succession. After extensive testing, the Independence-based church acquired the document from the LDS church and announced the manuscript's authenticity: Richard P. Howard, "The Joseph Smith III Blessing-Designation: The Story of the LDS-RLDS Exchange," and "The Joseph Smith III Blessing Document Is Authentic," *Saints Herald* 128 (1 May 1981): 12-13, 23, and (1 August 1981): 10-11. In a twice-published article, Michael Quinn offered a detailed analysis of the succession crisis; he depicted an LDS view of the blessing as an unfulfilled prophetic promise and an RLDS claim for it as a martyr's heritage: "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *JWHAJ* 1 (1981): 12-27, with responses by Paul M. Edwards and Richard P. Howard, pp. 27-29; and revised for *Dialogue* 15

(Summer 1982): 69-90. Mormon documents dealer Mark Hofmann's conviction on murder and fraud charges in January 1987 exposed the much-discussed blessing document as a forgery. Even with that corrective, Quinn's study offers useful insights on the succession incident itself. The forged documents are discussed in Kenneth W. Rendell, "Latter Day Taints: The Mark Hofmann Case," *Manuscripts* 40 (Winter 1988): 5-14.

Exploring the question in another framework is Douglas W. Larche, "The Mantle of the Prophet: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Quest for Mormon Post-Martyrdom Leadership, 1844-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University [Bloomington], 1977). Larche examines the strategies of major contenders and the topics they addressed that led to schism. The attack at Carthage killed both presiding prophet and patriarch. The question of rightful heirship in the second office is reviewed in E. Gary Smith, "The Patriarchal Crisis of 1845," *Dialogue* 16 (Summer 1983): 24-35, another in a series of articles anticipating a forthcoming book by Smith and Irene M. Bates. Smith's "The Office of Presiding Patriarch: The Primacy Problem" *JMH* 14 (1988): 35-47, reviews attempts to understand the relationship between the two vacated positions. The 1846-52 disaffections of Alpheus Cutler, George Miller, and Lyman Wight are traced in Richard E. Bennett, "Lamanism, Lymanism, and Cornfields," *JMH* 13 (1986-87): 45-59.

Primary sources contributing to an understanding of this period are in *BYU Studies:* Eugene England, ed., "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," 18 (Winter 1978): 151-78, which covers the dates January 1, 1845, through June 6, 1846; Andrew F. Ehat, ed., " 'They Might Have Known That He Was Not A Fallen Prophet' — The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," 19 (Winter 1979): 133-67, reflecting the months between December 1843 and October 1846; and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., " 'All Things Move in Order in the City': The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs," 19 (Spring 1979): 285-320, which chronicles events from June 5, 1844, to September 21, 1845.

Broader views of the dissenting groups spawned by Mormonism are in Stephen L. Shields, *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter Day Saint Movement,* 3rd ed. (Bountiful, Ut.: Restoration Research, 1982), and Wilford L. Goodliffe, "American Frontier Religion: Mormons and Their Dissenters, 1830-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Idaho, 1976). Shields identifies more than one hundred churches, 1830-44 and 1844-1982, their leaders and doctrines, plus independents and anti-Mormons. Goodliffe devotes considerable attention to schism resulting from Joseph Smith's death. He finds the dissenters acting like American protestants and differing on governance but remaining true to Mormon ideology.

The Exodus: Long before leadership questions had been settled to everyone's satisfaction, Brigham Young and his supporters in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles were leading the exodus to the Rocky Mountains. Ronald K. Esplin, again drawing upon his dissertation, continues his succession argument in " 'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," *JMH* 9 (1982): 85-111. A day-by-

day summary of another trek, with a roster of company members and map, is Gerald E. Jones, "Some Forgotten Pioneers: The Emmett Company of 1844," in *Sperry Symposium, 1980,* pp. 193-210.

The drama of the evacuation from Nauvoo centers across the Mississippi River in two studies of the poor camp's experiences in the fall of 1846: Susan W. Easton, "Suffering and Death on the Plains of Iowa," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 431-39; and Richard E. Bennett, "Eastward to Eden: The Nauvoo Rescue Missions," *Dialogue* 19 (Winter 1986): 100-108. Carol Lynn Pearson argues in " 'Nine Children Were Born': A Historical Problem from the Sugar Creek Episode," *BYU Studies* 21 (Fall 1981): 441-44, that the famous birthings fit better in September 1846 than in February. William E. Pruday accompanies the Utah Pioneers westward in "They Marched Their Way West: The Nauvoo Brass Band," *Ensign* 10 (July 1980): 20-23. Meanwhile, between ports in New York and San Francisco, we are given a thorough study, with passenger list, of the "Voyage of the *Brooklyn* by Lorin Hansen, *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 47-72. And that just about concludes the story of the Nauvoo period in Mormon history.

VIII. UNFINISHED BUSINESS

What yet remains to be written of the dramatic story of Mormonism at the Mississippi? A brief comment may be in order as a challenge to historians for the sesquicentennial. The impressive output of the past decade fills certain critical gaps and points the way to other studies. Many of the needs are alluded to in the essay above. In his 1978 bibliography, Richard Poll identified opportunities that still need attention, as well as some that have been tackled in the interim.

All would agree that general works about Nauvoo are called for. These would necessarily reflect recent scholarship and both synthesize that work and plough new ground. Several general thematic studies could be undertaken; there is room for various approaches to and perspectives on the Nauvoo experience: Nauvoo society, Nauvoo religion, Nauvoo politics, and so on.

Always there will be unexamined lives in Nauvoo. Further work is appropriate on many, including Thomas Ford, Hiram Kimball, Daniel H. Wells, members of the Twelve, Joseph Young, the city council, the high council, editors, and architects.

Recent graduate student analyses of Nauvoo as community deserve wider dissemination in book form. The British-American interaction in Nauvoo, the interrelationships between Nauvoo and outlying Mormon settlements, and the ecclesiastical ties with such spokes of the wheel welcome investigation. Though much has been written about the development of doctrine, we await analysis of the total message as presented in sermon and tract. The literary historians, the music historians, the art historians, and scholars in other disciplines are just beginning to look at Nauvoo society.

The Nauvoo economy — agriculture and commerce, plus hopes for industrial development — in the context of the region has not been exhausted as a topic. Nor has demography. Political historians could mine the impact of the Missouri expulsion on Nauvoo for further insights. The story of Freemasonry is not fully understood.

The martyrdom, succession, and the exodus have received much attention of late. We might pay attention to the responses and reactions of ordinary Latter-day Saints to these and other experiences, including the development of a temple-centered theology. Personal trauma caused by death and poverty, and complications for members struggling to prepare for the evacuation of Nauvoo seem areas for further focus. Letters from Nauvoo, and diaries and reminiscences, are rich sources to be mined. Recollections of Nauvoo and the impact of the Nauvoo inheritance on Mormonism after 1846 suggest other approaches.

Historians should be congratulated for the important scholarly contributions of the last ten years. As we celebrate Nauvoo's beginnings, interested readers will expect the fascinating investigation of an important period in Mormon history to continue as one more monument to Nauvoo's sesquicentennial.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

This issue of the journal is devoted to the Mormons at Nauvoo, which is perhaps the most thoroughly examined episode in the history of western Illinois. Yet as Glen M. Leonard points out in his review of recent scholarship, studies continue to appear at a rapid rate, and there are significant topics that still need attention. Indeed, the articles in this issue also demonstrate that new and useful studies continue to make their way into print. Terry Tanner's "The Mormon Press in Nauvoo, 1839-1846" is the most complete and carefully researched discussion of that topic yet to appear; M. Guy Biship's "Sex Roles, Marriage, and Childrearing at Mormon Nauvoo" is an original approach to the famous community, viewing Mormon family values against the backdrop of American values of the pre-Civil War period; Stanley B. Kimball's "The Nauvoo Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1846-1848" presents an interesting document which depicts Nauvoo after the Exodus and demonstrates that the Mormon tragedy was a Methodist opportunity; and Roger D. Launius's "The Awesome Responsibility: Joseph Smith III and the Nauvoo Experience" is a perceptive account of the influence that Nauvoo continued to have, long after the Exodus, on the leader of the Reorganized branch of the LDS Church. Without doubt, early Nauvoo is emerging as a major focus within the field of Mormon history, attended by a vast body of scholarship that must be, to some degree, assimilated by those who intend to contribute significantly to it.

It might be appropriate to mention here that Nauvoo-related materials have increased significantly at the Special Collections unit of Western Illinois University Library during the past decade. The Gordon-Vestal Collection, for example, includes materials about Nauvoo and other Hancock County communities which were gathered by the county historical society in the early twentieth century. The Ida Blum Collection is devoted to the writings of Nauvoo's most noted local historian, who died in 1981. The David Martin Nauvooiana Collection is composed of thirteen scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and other materials. The Thomas Gregg Collection includes manuscripts and published writings by the most well-known newspaper editor of early Hancock County. The Mary Siegfried Collection includes Nauvoo scrapbook materials, compiled by a local historian from the county. And the extensive Icarian Collection contains manuscripts, early newspapers, and other documents relating to the French group that settled in Nauvoo after the Mormon Exodus. These collections are supplemented by book materials relating to early Nauvoo, regional newspapers on microfilm, and an extensive collection of Hancock County public records on microfilm.

In regard to this historical subject, it should also be mentioned that the Mormon History Association will hold its annual conference in Quincy on May 12, 13, and 14, and the theme will be "Mormonism in Illinois: A Sesquicentennial Consideration." The program will include dozens of presentations, many of them related to the history of Nauvoo and early Hancock County. Among the many speakers will be Sister Mary Osborn and Lillian Snyder of Nauvoo, Robert Sutton of Western Illinois University, and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton of Salt Lake City. There will also be an extensive Nauvoo tour, marked by special presentations at various historic sites. The conference headquarters will be the Holiday Inn in Quincy. Those who would like a copy of the program and registration information are invited to contact the conference chairman, Roger D. Launius, 1001 E. Cedar St., New Baden, Il. 62265.

At the recent Illinois Literary Heritage Conference in Chicago, University of Illinois Press announced that the first titles in its new Prairie State Books series had appeared. The series is devoted to reissuing notable Illinois books, with new introductions, and among the early titles of interest to western Illinois studies are Harry Golden's *Carl Sandburg,* with an Introduction by Joseph Wershba, Edgar Lee Masters's *The Sangamon,* with an Introduction by Charles E. Burgess, and Eliza W. Farnham's *Life in Prairie Land,* with an Introduction by John Hallwas. Among the various forthcoming titles are James Gray's *The Illinois* and Francis Grierson's *The Valley of Shadows.* Prairie State Books is a paperback series, and more information can be acquired by writing to University of Illinois Press, 54 E. Gregory Dr., Champaign, Il. 61820.

Speaking of paperback books, a couple of new titles have appeared, which will probably not receive extensive notice but which are nevertheless of interest. Milton D. Thompson's *The Illinois State Museum* (1988) is a 200-page institutional history that is both readable and well illustrated. The first curator was Amos Worthen of Warsaw, and later Springfield, who was in charge from 1877 to 1888. Among the other notables connected with the museum over the years were anthropologist Thorne Deuel and nature writer Virginia S. Eifert. Thompson was the eighth director of the museum, and his book is part history and part memoir. The other title is *Back in Those Days: 1902-1935* (1988) by Walter Hatton, a memoir by a man who grew up in Havana early in the century. It is an interesting reflection of Illinois River culture, devoted as it is to steamboats, seine fishing, hunting tales, river islands, and other aspects of local life. *The Illinois State Museum* is available through the Museum Society at the Museum in Springfield; Hatton's memoir can be obtained from A. D. McCoy, 2010 Highwood, Pekin, Il. 61554.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

JOSEPH SMITH III: PRAGMATIC PROPHET. By Dr. Roger D. Launius, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. Pp. 408, $24.95.

Roger D. Launius, Command Historian of the Military Airlift Command at Scott Air Force Base, Illinois, has written the first serious biography of Joseph Smith III. Based on his Ph.D. dissertation, this book has been a long time in production. But it is well worth the wait. The subject of the study was the son of Joseph Smith (II), the Martyr who founded the Latter Day Saint movement. The older Smith brought his group, known as the Mormons, to Nauvoo, Illinois in 1839-1840. Following the assassination of his father in June of 1844, young Joseph continued to live in Nauvoo with his mother Emma Smith and his stepfather Lewis Crum Bidamon. During his maturing years Joseph showed little interest in the religion of his father. Nor was he interested in the many Saints who, for one reason or the other, remained after Brigham Young and the majority moved West. But, in 1860 when the scattered members began to gather in Beloit, Wisconsin under the leadership of Jason W. Briggs and Zenus H. Gurley, Joseph and his mother attended the conference. From there he emerged as president, prophet, seer and revelator of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He was their president for fifty-four years.

Under Joseph III the Reorganization grew, organized themselves as a church, began the process of self-identification and moved toward legitimacy. His presidency marked an expansion from a small remnant of first generation members to a tightly-knit and centrally directed organization. He successfully met the challenge presented by the leading contenders for church leadership, James J. Strang, William Smith, Lyman Wight, and Alpheus Cutler.

Either convinced of his father's innocence or determined not to fall into the same trap, Joseph III assumed a strong antipolygamy position. He used this position not only to fight the distrust between the Saints and the gentiles, but as a point of identification between the newly acknowledged RLDS and LDS churches.

Launius presents Joseph III as a gifted organizer, a serious leader capable of a firm and steady hand, and a man whose own moral depth was quickly reflected in the movement. He was both prophet and lawgiver for the members of the church who followed him, as well as a kind and considerate man. But the key to Launius' analysis is that Joseph Smith was a pragmatist, a man not "overcome by the awe of the spiritual vision as those who had gone before" (xi). Smith, according to Launius, was not only able to separate the "logical from the impractical" (xi) but was able to

build upon the logical. He was a man of conviction and of principle, but he was also a man who recognized the limits of power and who pushed the church to those limits.

There is no doubt that Launius has identified an important characteristic of this man who led the Reorganization for so long. I believe, perhaps with less affirmation than Launius, that Joseph was a man of his times and that he was greatly influenced by the practical aspects of life in Illinois and by the conflicting wisdoms of his stepfather, Lewis Bidamon. Any serious student of Mormonism would have to recognize Joseph III as a more practical man than the dreamer Joseph the Martyr. He was required to be the leader of a church rather than a founder of the faith.

Religious history has shown the founder to be a person of disorganization, a radical who stood against some established order. However, if a founder's ideas are to flourish and his followers to survive, some organizer will take over and collect them, unify them, and make them into a movement. That movement of necessity will lose some of the passion that brought it into being. Joseph III grew up among the effects of dissolution. He saw the limitations imposed by disunity. And he found in his followers a diversity that he knew would separate them, and which he could not accept. He was not a convert in the sense his father was. As leader he was concerned with bringing his people solidarity, and a place of their own within the world environment. To accomplish this he made decisions, he led the people, but he did so with different goals in mind than his father. In this respect he was certainly pragmatic.

There are implications of this idea, however, that I am uneasy with. There is some question in my mind if Joseph Smith III was not really a separate founder. That is, if Joseph III did not in fact "found" the RLDS movement in much the same way that Joseph II founded Mormonism. His was not simply a practical response to their need for organization and structure, his was a visionary affirmation of the nature of God. More important, however, it was a prophetic statement about the nature of persons and, in a related way, about the nature of church government. Many "sub-prophets" have existed in Mormonism and they have altered, changed, expanded and adjusted the teachings of the prophet Joseph. That is the nature of contemporary revelation. Joseph III may have been a pragmatist. But what does that mean when talking about an American religious leader? More, I think, than is implied.

What I know of Joseph is that he was a grand man; prophet and poet in a world of realism; father and evangelist to a restless people; visionary and bureaucrat, loving grandfather and moral judge. He was, like many of his kin, passionate and cool, loving and harsh, prophet and manager. I had hoped I would come to know him better, but I left the book still not feeling close to him. Maybe that was Joseph, maybe it was me, perhaps it was Launius, but nevertheless I was disappointed.

In an excellent epilogue Launius gives us some personal reflections on the life and times of this religious leader. He sees Joseph as more

"legalistic than tolerant" and therefore practical, moderate and gradual (p. 367). For in Joseph, Launius assures us we see one of the best efforts at bridging the gap between the ideal and the real. It is in this contribution that Joseph Smith III is identified. Such a claim can be made as well for Dr. Launius's interesting book.

Dr. Launius has paid his dues. He has a member's knowledge of the church he discusses, and he has studied deeply and written widely about the organization and its leaders. His certainly is the best work being done now days in RLDS bibliography. He is one of the freshest and most productive of the young historians — young meaning a member of the second generation — emerging out of the New Mormon History. This book should be read by every serious scholar of Mormonism and of American religious history — and by persons who love a good story well told.

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HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS IN THE CIVIL WAR: "REFLECTIONS." By Judith L. Kammerer. Carthage: Journal Printing, 1988. Pp. ix, 326. $37.

The Civil War experience of a county seldom receives extensive historical treatment, but perhaps it should. After all, the Civil War era was an exciting time, when everyday people felt deeply involved with national events and communities were often divided with respect to the great conflict. Most county histories devote a chapter to local participation in the war, but those brief accounts usually lack a sense of national context, do not characterize noted local soldiers, and omit contemporaneous documents.

The new book by Judith Kammerer attempts to do those things but is not entirely successful. The author can be commended for bringing to light various Hancock County documents relating to the war, such as the journal of Col. John G. Fonda and the letters of Private Samuel Gordon, from which she quotes extensively to describe the activities of the 118th Infantry Regiment. She also reprints many newspaper articles from the period and provides dozens of historical photographs. Her book is full of fascinating items for those interested in the county's, and the region's, Civil War heritage.

Unfortunately, Kammerer's chapters concerning the national context are not well-researched, thorough, or insightful. She is not a professional historian and should not have devoted chapters to such matters as "The Lincoln-Douglas Debates," "Mr. Lincoln," and "Union Military Leaders," which are treated much better elsewhere and do not relate closely to Hancock County history anyway. Furthermore, her four chapters on Keo-uk during the war are beyond the central focus of the book.

While the documents that Kammerer reprints are often of interest, they are not introduced or systematically presented. Also, unfortunately, the sources for them are not given. Beyond that, several of them are poorly

reproduced from xerox copies or photographs and thus are hard to read.

Kammerer does provide both a Name Index and a Subject Index, which will be of help to genealogists and others who are looking for specific people or information. She includes a Glossary as well, but it is much more extensive than it needs to be. Surely any reader would be familiar with terms like "ammunition," "cemetery," "headquarters," and "traitor."

Hopefully, *Hancock County, Illinois in the Civil War* will stimulate interest in the county's history during that fascinating national convulsion, which had a profound impact on the people who lived through it. It will no doubt also incite frustration among readers who would like to know the sources of her specific information and documents.

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PRAIRIES, PRAYERS AND PROMISES; AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF GALESBURG. By Jean C. Lee. Windsor Publications, Inc., Northridge, CA, 1987. Pp. 128. $22.95.

It is refreshing to view a beautifully manufactured book, replete with high quality color and historical black and white photographs, which encapsulates life over time in Galesburg. It was a community founded with lofty goals, later tempered and skewed by common avarice and political heavy handedness.

This is not a sluggish, boring narrative of the life of supposedly upper class citizens of Galesburg. The book was conceived to provide a glimpse of the life of the common people of Galesburg. Full use was made of the fine collections of glassplate negatives, tin types, sketches and oils held in private collections as well as those of Knox College and the Galesburg Public Library. The photographic art of Mike Godsil of Galesburg provided present day color and perspective.

Jean C. Lee wrote the narrative in this illustrated history, published to coincide with the year-long celebration of the sesquicentennial of the 1837 founding of Galesburg and Knox College. This is a popular history, not a scholarly tome. The reader is given the opportunity to learn of the conflicts in the town, even of the influence of the Klu Klux Klan, surprisingly present in a community known for its fervent and pioneering abolitionist stance. The story begins with the land and with the Indian tribes which were its first inhabitants. It ends with the recent past.

While it does not purport to be a formal history, the author, known for her careful work as the editor of "The Prairie Journal" for several years, had the manuscript scrutinized by Knox College professors Rod Davis, John Wagner, Duane Moore and others. The only inaccuracies noted were in the pages submitted by some local businesses and charities which paid for the insertion of the articles as a form of advertising. Those errors were few and insignificant.

The book is recommended for purchase by both the serious researcher and the casual reader interested in community history written from an intelligent and modern viewpoint.

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TALES FROM TWO RIVERS IV. Edited by John E. Hallwas and David R. Pichaske. Macomb, Illinois: Two Rivers Arts Council, 1987. Pp. 232. $15.95.

Seven years ago the Two Rivers Arts Council embarked upon a publishing effort to record the reminiscences and recollections of senior citizens in western Illinois. The success of the venture can be measured by the facts that this fourth volume is forty-five pages longer than volume I and costs nearly twice as much as that first volume.

The written oral history format of the *Tales from Two Rivers* series is a proven formula. Personal memories of the older generations in a society have always held great interest for many people. As early as 1915 the reminiscences of pioneer Minnesotans were immortalized in the publication *Old Rail Fence Corners.* The unparalleled success of the folklife series *Foxfire* shows that oral history and recollections have an enduring fascination for contemporary society.

Tales from Two Rivers IV follows the same organizational pattern as the previous three volumes in the series. This volume is divided into sections on "Small-town Stuff," "Encounters with Death," "Good Times and Bad Times on the Farm," "Old-Time Politics," "Immigrants," "Around Home," "Old-time Arts and Culture," "School Days," "Transportation and Communication," and "Special Memories." The sections contain an extensive array of essays on many different social history aspects.

The sections on death and on arts and culture are particularly illuminating. Modern society's aversion to old age and the end of life was not the way death was handled in the early 1900s. Instead, the spectre of death was an integral part of the human experience. The family sat with the deceased before the funeral and watched as the last clods of dirt covered the coffin at interment time.

Culture did exist in the early part of the twentieth century in rural America. It was different from the cultural activities of urban cities, but still, the talent shows, brass bands, and dances brought entertainment and excitement into the lives of the rural people. It would be difficult in our specialized contemporary rural society to find a barber who is a closet violin maker, but years ago this was possible.

A small criticism of this volume and previous volumes in the *Tales from Two Rivers* series is the lack of comprehensive index. Any individuals researching these volumes for information about their community or family could become frustrated.

A poignant reminder of the fragility of the human memory is the recent death of Clarence E. Neff, whose essay "Old-Time Politics" appears in volume IV. Neff spent over twenty years as a representative in the Illinois General Assembly, and yet he was destined only to have time to produce a two-page memoir of those years. History is timeless but human beings are not! Stronger efforts need to be made to preserve the individual and collective memories of our senior citizens before death intervenes.

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